



Daily Report

East Europe

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NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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Delegates Assess CSCE Talks Concerning SFRY

AU0609135591 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 5 Sep 91 p 2

[Interview with Hungarian Ambassadors Ivan Baba and Istvan Gyarmati by Tibor Kis in Prague; date not given: "They Will Have To Deal With Minorities at the Peace Conference"]

[Text] Following the Prague CSCE crisis meeting, our correspondent in Prague asked Ivan Baba and Istvan Gyarmati about the results of the meeting:

[Kis] Following the two previous conferences, our delegation issued statements indicating our satisfaction, but the proposals laid down in the documents approved at those two conferences were not implemented (either not at all, or not in time). Is there no danger of this happening again? Do you have the impression that the Yugoslav peace conference will be held at long last?

[Baba] Naturally, our doubts have grown a little stronger because this time we all negotiated in the knowledge that as we spoke, Croatian settlements were being fired at with heavy artillery. Bearing in mind the moderate success of the two previously drafted documents, everybody is more sober in anticipation of the results of the documents drafted this time. Nevertheless, we have now reached a very concrete moment in time: According to the documents, the peace conference should start on 7 September. This could be a reason for optimism.

[Gyarmati] Moreover, sanctions have been foreseen to make sure that things run according to plan.

[Kis] The weight of this forum can be better gauged after the third meeting of this kind. It seems that the success of your work depends on a number of external factors and on the activities of many other international meetings.

[Gyarmati] Every international mechanism is only worth the weight lent to it by its member states. The Yugoslav crisis is the first instance where the CSCE has undertaken to help find a solution. On the basis of our current experience, they will probably modify some elements in the CSCE mechanism in Helsinki next year. There was no possibility of doing this in the past because the Soviet Union, for example, refused to advance.

[Baba] A consensus is not just a weakness in this mechanism but also a strength. Indeed, if there is a consensus, then everyone can systematically be called to account on our undertakings.

[Kis] The Hungarian delegation suggested that the national minorities in Yugoslavia be involved in the work of the Yugoslav peace conference. What are the chances for this?

[Baba] The EC document talks about the participation of the republics. However, the EC ministers know that if they handle this issue rigidly and formally, they will not solve the crisis but merely adjourn it. The present CSCE

document mentions national minorities. For example, everyone can see that the Yugoslav crisis will not be solved in the long term unless the Albanian problem is solved as well. In other words, the peace conference cannot circumvent the issue of national minorities.

CSCE Meeting Approves Embargo on Arms to SFRY

LD0409175191 Prague CTK in English
1436 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Text] Prague Sept 4 (CTK)—The two-day third CSCE high commissioners' committee emergency meeting on Yugoslavia ended here today with approving an embargo on arms exports to Yugoslavia.

The committee called on all states to refrain from arms supplies to Yugoslavia as long as the current crisis in the country continues, and to take measures to prevent any transfer of arms.

The decision is motivated by the effort to prevent an escalation of the fighting in Yugoslavia and to contribute to the peaceful settlement of the conflict.

The high commissioners also called on all CSCE states to inform the Vienna-based conflict prevention centre on their future efforts to find a solution to the crisis.

The arms embargo was jointly proposed at the Prague meeting by Czechoslovakia and Poland.

It was originally initiated in July by Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel.

Most participants in the meeting were surprised at the Yugoslav delegation's ready approval of the documents from the meeting in advance of tonight's session of the Yugoslav Presidium.

Yesterday, the Yugoslav delegation asked for a postponement of the Prague meeting, saying that it would not be authorised to approve any document before the conclusion of the Presidium session in Belgrade.

But the request was turned down by Germany, which currently presides over the CSCE, in view of the escalating bloodshed in Croatia.

In an interview with CTK, Novak Pribicevic, the Yugoslav chief delegate and deputy foreign minister, assessed positively the documents adopted at the Prague meeting.

He denied that Yugoslavia wanted to abuse the CSCE mechanism to gain time to solve the crisis by its own means.

"What we are seeking is a quick solution because it is the Yugoslav people who are suffering most severely from the effects of the crisis", Pribicevic said.

The document adopted in conclusion of the emergency CSCE meeting stresses the necessity of starting negotiations on the future of Yugoslavia quickly.

It approves yesterday's decision by the European Community foreign ministers to convene an international peace conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague on September 7.

The document calls for the full observance of the ceasefire agreed upon September 1 and calls on political leaders and military authorities in Yugoslavia to keep all

military operations under control in order to contribute to the success of The Hague conference.

The document stresses the inadmissibility of the use of force for political ends and urges all sides involved in the conflict to respect human rights, including those of national minorities.

Safety should be ensured for all refugees wishing to return to their homes, the document says.

Kapllani Leaves for Moscow CSCE Conference

*AU0809193291 Tirana ATA in English 1840 GMT
8 Sep 91*

[Text] Tirana, September 8 (ATA)—The Albanian delegation headed by the foreign minister of the Republic of Albania, Muhamet Kapllani, left for Moscow on September 8 to attend the Moscow Meeting of the Conference for the CSCE Human Dimension.

Alia Hails DPRK's Kim Il-song on National Day

*AU0809141491 Tirana ATA in English 0917 GMT
8 Sep 91*

[Text] Tirana, September 8 (ATA)—Ramiz Alia, president of the Republic of Albania, sends the following message of greetings to the president of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Kim Il-song: "On occasion of the national day, the anniversary of the founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, on behalf of the Albanian people and in my name, I convey to you the sincere congratulations and the Korean people the cordial wishes for their well-being and the further development and progress of the country.

Availing myself of this opportunity I express my conviction that friendship and cooperation existing between our two countries and peoples will develop and strengthen non-stop to their common good."

Ambassadorial Relations Established With Vatican

*AU0809140891 Tirana Radio Tirana Network
in Albanian 1330 GMT 8 Sep 91*

[Joint Albanian-Vatican communique issued in Tirana on 8 September]

[Text] With the desire of forming ties of mutual friendship, the Republic of Albania and the Holy See agreed by common accord yesterday, 7 September, to establish relations at the level of an embassy and an apostolic nunciature.

Foreign Ministry on Macedonian Referendum

*AU0809141891 Tirana ATA in English 0818 GMT
8 Sep 91*

[Text] Tirana, September 7 (ATA)—The Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Albania deems it reasonable and supports the decision of the members of the Albanian nation in the Republic of Macedonia not to take part in the referendum on the sovereignty and independence of this republic, to be held on September 8.

The Republic of Albania observes the right of the peoples for self-determination and consequently, it respects Macedonia's right to express itself for a sovereign and independent future. But this right should not be selective and exclude the Albanians, who as Macedonians alike

are the greatest ethnic group in this republic and to whom the status of the nation must be recognized in new constitution of Macedonia.

Macedonia may be sovereign and independent only as an equal community of all the peoples residing there.

Macedonians in Albania Form Association

*AU0809184591 Tirana Radio Tirana Network
in Albanian 1800 GMT 8 Sep 91*

[Text] On 3 September, the justice minister approved the application of the Initiating Commission for the creation of the Bratska Political Association of Macedonians in Albania, having observed that the association's program, statute, and other documents are in accordance with the Law on the Main Constitutional Provisions and meet the demands of the Law on Political Parties.

This approval, which was delivered to the Initiating Commission, takes effect immediately.

Democratic Party Welcomes Hungarian Aid

*AU0909082391 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian
5 Sep 91 p 3*

["Sz.Cs."-signed interview with Genc Pollo, spokesman of the Albanian Democratic Party, on the telephone from Tirana; date not given: "Starvation Is Threatening Tirana—Albanian Bread Made Out of Hungarian Grain"]

[Text] Following the Hungarian foreign minister's visit to Tirana, Genc Pollo told our correspondent that Albania was facing the hardest autumn of the last decades, not only in words but also in reality, because its economy has finally collapsed.

[NEPSZAVA] Among other things, we were interested in finding out whether, in the opposition's opinion, the hasty Hungarian-Albanian economic cooperation resembled the situation of "the blind leading the blind."

[Pollo] Today, many Albanians are worried that the issue of Albania will again be thrust into the background because of the Yugoslav and Soviet events. That is actually true. All this indicates to us what kind of role the continent intends to give our country in the now frequently mentioned European home. However, do not think that I am too bitter about this because Albania is not the center of the world, and, for decades, our communist leadership did all it could to completely isolate us from the outside world. What I find more frustrating is that we cannot really get out of this isolation because we have fallen into a crisis that we cannot overcome on our own. This is the reason we welcome all initiatives that can improve our situation. Therefore, we highly appreciate the Hungarian foreign minister's visit, too. I think that the aforementioned economic ties should not be underestimated. At any rate, they are worth much more than the previous Italian promises.

[NEPSZAVA] According to this, your party will not easily forgive the treatment of Albanian refugees in Italy?

[Pollo] There were simply shameful scenes, and it is indeed hard to forget them. Naturally, we also know that the sight of thousands of Albanians fleeing from their homeland because they do not see any hope of a renewal is at least as big a shame. However, Italy must also be aware that most of these people did not leave as political refugees but left because they were not even able to give a piece of bread to their children. Now, tell me, what kind of a humane procedure is it when the Italians are financially helping the Albanian police to avoid having to deal with another flood of refugees?!

[NEPSZAVA] Why, is there no danger of that just now?

[Pollo] In recent weeks, news has been spreading that the Tirana embassies were accepting people who intended to emigrate. People who believed this became disappointed. In the coming weeks, the situation in Kosovo could considerably damage the shaky stability of this area, and that would obviously seriously affect Albania, too. That is why it would be very important for other countries to follow Hungary's economic initiatives because we are facing a difficult autumn. People would view the world differently if they were not "talking politics" on an empty stomach. This is why it is a great help that we can soon bake our bread with Hungarian grain.

Decree Permits Foreigners To Trade in Leks

AU0909102891 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 31 Aug 91 p 2

[Council of Ministers' Decree Permitting Physically and Legally Foreign Persons To Conduct Trading Activities in Leks; issued in Tirana on 8 August]

[Text] At the suggestion of the Finance Ministry and the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, the Council of Ministers has decreed:

1. Physically and legally foreign persons are permitted to conduct trade activities in leks in the Republic of Albania, having received the relevant permit from the responsible Albanian authorities.
2. Permits for the conduct of trading activities by physically and legally foreign persons are issued by the Trade Section of the Executive Committee of the district in which they will conduct their activities.
3. The Trade Section of the District Executive Committee considers and decides to grant or refuse a permit for physically and legally foreign persons to conduct trading activities no later than 10 days after the submission of a written application.

4. Written applications must include the following data and documents:

- a) the name of the physical and legal person and his address;
- b) bank documentation demonstrating his possession of basic capital;
- c) the area of activity;
- ch) [fourth letter of Albanian alphabet] economic and financial data with the required legal testimony.

5. Not later than 15 days after receiving the relevant permit, physically and legally foreign persons are initially registered at the District Court and, subsequently, at the Finance Section of the District Executive Committee.

If a physically and legally foreign person does not register within this 15-day period, his permit is considered invalid.

6. When physically and legally foreign persons desire to conduct trading activities in another district, they submit a written application to the Trade Section of the District Executive Committee to conduct their activities in this district, also. If their application is approved, only registration with the Finance Section of the District Executive Committee is required.

This decree comes into effect immediately.

8 August 1991

[signed] Ylli Bufi, chairman of the Council of Ministers

Agreement To Recruit German Specialists Signed

AU0809141391 Tirana ATA in English 1223 GMT 8 Sep 91

[Text] Tirana, September 8 (ATA)—An agreement was signed in Bonn recently between the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany and the Government of the Republic of Albania for the employment of workers in the context of friendly relations. This agreement foresees the employment of specialists of different fields, from 18 to 40 years of age, according to the needs of our country, for a year and a half. The toll of specialists who will be sent every year is expected to be 500 but it may also reach to 1000 persons. The agreement is valid for three years, but it is expected to prolong it every year. The aim of this agreement which enters in force since the day it is signed, is to help our country to train cadres and specialists of various fields for the application of the economic reform in the future. Or the implementation of this reform for the German party is charged the Federal Labour Office in Frankfurt-am-Main, and for the Albanian side, the Committee of Labour and Social Assistance.

Kozloduy No. 6 Unit 'Working Normally'

AU0809155491 Sofia BTA in English 1427 GMT
8 Sep 91

[Text] Kozloduy, September 8 (BTA)—Generating Unit Six of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant was put into operation this morning. The equipment and all systems are working normally at 50 to 70 per cent of their capacity. The generating unit will gradually reach its full capacity of 1,000 megawatt over the next few days. According to well-informed sources, in the winter this country will probably rely on Generating Unit Six because the miners' strike which ended recently has had an adverse effect on the coal supply and the work-schedule of the thermal power plants. As a result of this pause, some mines have problems and cannot work normally.

New National Intelligence Chief Appointed

AU0609134291 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network
in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Text] Today's news briefing at the Presidency was devoted mainly to problems of national security. Mr. Ivaylo Trifonov, chief of the President's Office, defended the president's constitutional powers to supervise the National Intelligence Service. An article in the journal POGLED had shed doubt on these powers. Ivaylo Trifonov also denied a claim by DEMOKRATIYA that, in practice, a new staff group under the president's personal control had taken over the functions of the National Security Council and the president's advisers.

The name of the new director of the National Intelligence Service is Brigo Khristoforov Asparukhov. He is 46 years old, is married, and has a 16-year-old daughter. He graduated from the former Karl Marx Economics Institute with a degree in foreign trade, and, until now, has been employed in diplomatic work. The appointment of the new director of the National Intelligence Service, which is directly responsible to the Presidency, was announced in a presidential decree dated 28 August.

Soviet Ambassador Sharapov Interviewed on Coup

AU0709142691 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian
2 Sep 91 p 9

[Interview with Viktor Sharapov, Soviet ambassador to Bulgaria, by an unidentified reporter; place and date not given: "In Fact, Sharapov Was With Zhelev"]

[Text] On 19 August, I visited President Zhelev and handed him the address from the State of Emergency Committee. He called the events a military coup. We did not argue about that, Mr. Sharapov said.

It is a matter of usual diplomatic practice; diplomatic protocol must be observed even during a state of emergency. At the same time, on the first day of the coup, Minister Plenipotentiary Igor Kareyev called on Prime

Minister Popov. The two main political forces, the Bulgarian Socialist Party and the Union of Democratic Forces, were also given the same address.

We return to past facts because, for a whole week, there was a great deal of talk and written commentary about these visits, perhaps because none of the people in the know about the incident intervened to clarify it. The Soviet ambassador organized a news conference. Naturally, the questions ranged over a wide field, including, "Do you have any intention of resigning?" Sharapov admitted that he had not taken down Gorbachev's picture and that he had not thought for a moment that there could be another president. Nevertheless, if we recall correctly, Viktor Sharapov came to replace Leonid Grekov, regarded as a hard-line Brezhnev supporter, and was sent from Mikhail Gorbachev's private office, where he was working at the time....

However, here is how he answered POGLED's questions:

[POGLED] At the news conference seen by the whole world, Mikhail Gorbachev stated his allegiance to socialist ideas and his wish to work to purge the CPSU. However, he renounced all this with a laconic decree that we heard from the lips of the television announcer. How do you assess the two acts?

[Sharapov] Socialist ideas have been around for a long time, and we should not forget that the misinterpretation of the ideas and the ideas themselves are two different things. Does it seem to you that our president changed his stance very quickly? That is not altogether true. Note that he says "socialist" and not "communist." He also referred to a possible new, left-wing party. The dissolution of the CPSU was the only correct way for him to act.

[POGLED] Were links between the Soviet Embassy and Moscow more difficult during the fateful days of the coup? (We, the journalists on your trail, found out what it means to ring a Moscow number.) Or are the communications all one way in such a situation?

[Sharapov] We also had difficulties getting through. It was difficult to get information. Information was scarce. To our questions, they replied: Listen and read. We tried to convey an objective picture from here—namely, that Bulgaria condemned the antidemocratic and anticonstitutional act in the USSR.

Survey Shows Zhelev Tops Popularity List

AU0709200091 Sofia BTA in English 1915 GMT
7 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 7 (BTA)—If the presidential elections are held now, the incumbent President Zhelyu Zhelev stands the greatest chance to win, according to the latest survey by the National Public Opinion Centre. For the first time Dr. Zhelev was approved by more than

50 percent of respondents, it was said in the Panorama Weekly Political Review on the National Television this evening.

The incumbent president also tops the list of political leaders approved by the public. The drop in confidence is greatest with Dr. Petur Dertliev, leader of the Social Democratic Party.

The Presidency ranks first among the official institutions which reacted to the attempted coup in the Soviet Union.

The Army is gaining in prestige after the events in the Soviet Union. This is probably due to the stand the military took on the engineers of the coup as well as due to the changes in the Ministry of Defence.

Ivan Kostov, minister of finance, Aleksandur Tomov, deputy prime minister, Emiliya Maslarova, minister of labour and social affairs, and Dimitur Ludzhev, deputy prime minister, are ministers of the month.

80 percent of the 1,700 respondents in different regions of this country have already decided which party they will vote for. Only 20 percent have not done this yet.

The Socialist Party is losing its sympathizers after the attempted coup in the Soviet Union but the electorate remains unchanged. The electorate of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) is increasing and the SDS-Nationwide Movement would win the greatest number of seats if the elections were held now.

Ginyo Ganev To Run as Independent in Election

AU0709160591 Sofia OTECHSTVEN VESTNIK
in Bulgarian 2 Sep 91 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Ginyo Ganev, deputy chairman of the National Assembly, by an unidentified reporter; place and date not given: "Ginyo Ganev's Three Things Before the Election"]

[Text] [OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK] During the Fatherland Union National Council session, you were asked about a proposal to you by the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] to be included on its party list as an independent candidate. What is the truth behind this?

[Ganev] As I also stated at the session, it was indeed proposed that I should run as an independent candidate on the BSP election list, with the clarification that the proposal was made by the municipal councils of this party. I pointed out that such an action on my part today would be incongruous with my understanding of political independence and nonpartisanship that I uphold.

[OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK] As a parliamentarian and leader of the National Assembly well known throughout the country, you have a high standing as a political and public figure. What do you think about participating in the coming election?

[Ganev] Once again, I stress that the adopted Electoral Law sets political figures with no party alignment extremely unfavorable conditions if they wish to participate in the election. The proportional electoral system favors the parties and party lists, and the independent candidates will not even be able to fully utilize the votes cast for them. The principle of equal electoral rights is broken, according to which one man has one vote, and each vote counts equally. However, this argument has no significance today. The law is as it stands.

Despite this, I am thinking of registering to take part as an independent candidate in the election, which is possible on the precondition that I have the support of at least 2,000 voters from a given constituency. After registering, I will then assess the possibilities for forming an electoral coalition between people and circles with similar political aims.

My election platform will be in keeping with my previous conduct inside and outside the Grand National Assembly, which is to seek greater tolerance and agreement in the transition toward democracy to guarantee social and civic peace, and the tranquillity and safety of every citizen and every family. My election campaign statement consists of these three things, in capital letters:

**COMMON SENSE, REALISM, and UNDER-
STANDING.**

[OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK] In the editor's office, we are receiving tips from readers that some of the time schedules fixed by the electoral law have already been broken. What is your stand on this?

[Ganev] The time limit envisaged for defining the electoral districts and setting up the election commissions has not been adhered to. However, there is something more important than this—I am concerned that the necessary prerequisites have not been created for the local elections, especially for the election of mayors. Parliament has not adopted the local self-government bill, which is to set out the rights and duties of the local government organs and differentiate between municipal mayors and mayors of individual populated areas. Parliament must adopt the respective law today or tomorrow [2 or 3 September].

Other concerns that cannot be put off are the possible amendments and additions to the Electoral Law. Difficulties are emerging in applying the law that I believe will require legislative intervention. For example, the law envisages that independent candidates running for municipal posts, including that of mayor, need 500 signatures of voters of the electoral region in question in order to register. Many villages in Bulgaria have fewer than 500 inhabitants and even fewer people entitled to vote.

[OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK] If this is the case, is there a danger that the election results will be disputed in the Constitutional Court?

[Ganev] I share your view. First, the bench of the Constitutional Court must be appointed without delay. Once again, this requires the National Assembly's participation.

Besides this, it seems to me that the political and calendar time left to organize calm and normal local elections is running out. If one adds to these difficulties the extremely unfavorable circumstance that the local elections are expected to take place on the same day as the parliamentary one, this creates exceptionally big problems for voters and the electoral administration alike. I say this because the two types of elections are very different from the psychological and organizational viewpoints.

BSDP Leaders Discuss Election Strategy

Present Candidate List

*AU0709185691 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network
in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 7 Sep 91*

[Text] On 7 September in Sofia, a closed meeting of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party [BSDP] National Committee took place. The candidates for people's representatives, nominated by the party's regional organizations, were presented.

The BSDP National Committee discussed the BSDP election strategy in the coming parliamentary and municipal elections. Tomorrow it will vote on whether a political agreement with Ecoglasnost and the Democratic Party-Plovdiv will be conducted. In addition, the candidates for people's deputies will be confirmed.

Approve Centrist Coalition

*AU0809133191 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network
in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 8 Sep 91*

[Text] At an expanded session that ended in Sofia today, the National Committee of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party [BSDP] endorsed the Union of Democratic Forces-Center [SDS-Center] election coalition, which was formed between the BSDP and the Ecoglasnost Political Club on the basis of the protocol agreement signed on 3 September.

The BSDP National Committee approved the actions taken by the Executive Bureau to form a broadly based centrist election coalition. The coalition's election campaign will be aimed at defending the rights of Bulgarian citizens, trade-unionism, parliamentarism, and legality.

Dertliev on Centrist Coalition

*AU0809183491 Sofia BTA in English 1552 GMT
8 Sep 91*

[Text] Sofia, September 8 (BTA)—A two-day meeting of the National Committee of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party (BSDP) approved some 120 candidates for

the parliamentary elections. The election lists of Turgovishte, Plovdiv and Sofia districts will be specified on September 10. Almost all candidates are university graduates between 35 and 55 years of age. About 15 per cent are women. Some 15 per cent of the present deputies of the BSDP will stand for MP's in the new elections. Dr. Petur Dertliev, chairman of the BSDP, tops the list in one of the Sofia constituencies and in Blagoevgrad district at the suggestion of the local BSDP committee.

The meeting approved an agreement on an election coalition SDS-Center [Union of Democratic Forces-Center] between the BSDP and the Ecoglasnost Political Club.

Dr. Dertliev told journalists that the Social Democratic Party is aware of all difficulties and sees a chance for stability in a large coalition of moderate centrist forces. It made efforts, so far in vain, to form this coalition, especially with the two Agrarian Parties. The problem of a large coalition with the participation of the SDS-Liberals will be solved in the next few days. According to Dr. Dertliev this is of key importance to Bulgaria. He also said that the BSDP will not have more than 240 candidates for MP's.

BZNS-United Discusses Election Candidate List

*AU0709185791 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network
in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 7 Sep 91*

[Text] On 7 September in Sofia, a closed meeting of the Administrative Board of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union-United [BZNS-United] took place. The board approved a political agreement on cooperation with the Bulgarian Constitutional Forum in the coming election. Candidates of the Constitutional Forum will be included in the BZNS-United candidate list. However, Prof. Nikolay Genchev will not be among the candidates because of his commitments as university rector.

BZNS-United leaders Viktor Vulkov, Ivan Glushkov, Tsenko Barev, and Yosif Petrov head the list in two constituencies. Certain changes in the list are possible if the Nikola Petkov BZNS changes its position and answers affirmatively to the BZNS-United proposal to appear with a common list at the coming election.

The Administrative Board has authorized the BZNS-United Permanent Board to discuss and publish in the next few days a report on the political guilt and responsibility of BZNS-United leading figures for developments during the period 1945-89.

Publishes Election Resolution

*AU0709153091 Sofia ZEMEDEL'SKO ZNAME
in Bulgarian 2 Sep 91 p 1*

[Resolution of the Supreme Union Council of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union-United; place and date not given]

[Text] After discussing the election platform of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union-United [BZNS-United] and the union's stance on participation in the coming election, the Supreme Union Council of the BZNS-United resolved:

- It approves in principle the election platform of the BZNS-United.
- It entrusts the commission responsible for drafting the platform to make the necessary corrections in line with the additions and proposals made by the members of the Supreme Union Council.
- It authorizes the BZNS-United Permanent Board to adopt the final version of the election platform, which will be published within three days.
- It authorizes the BZNS-United Permanent Board to conclude a political agreement with the Nikola Petkov BZNS and, with the consent of the Executive Council, with other democratic forces that share the basic principles underlying the platform of the BZNS-United.
- It delegates to the BZNS-United municipal leaderships the right, with the consent of the BZNS-United Permanent Board, to conclude political agreements with other democratic political forces for cooperation in the coming local election.

Rights and Freedoms Party Appeal Heard

AU0609181091 Sofia BTA in English 1456 GMT
6 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 6 (BTA)—A representative of the Head Prosecutor's Office argued against the registration of the Rights and Freedoms Party at today's sitting of the Supreme Court. It heard an appeal against a Sofia City Court ruling. In late August it ruled out the possibility for legitimizing the party.

The Rights and Freedoms Party was set up on August 7 on the basis of the Rights and Freedoms Movement (DPS)—an organization of between 70,000 and 130,000 Bulgarian citizens with Turkish ethnic identity. Mr. Ahmed Dogan, leader of the DPS and chairman of the new party, says that while DPS activities have a broad social basis, the party will try to achieve understanding and unity among the Bulgarian citizens by political means.

The DPS ran in the general elections last year and won 23 seats, despite accusations at the time that it pursued ethnic purposes. The new Bulgarian legislation bans the movement from running in the forthcoming parliamentary elections.

The prosecutor said at the sitting of the Supreme Court that the statute of the party contains aims which are a threat to the nation's unity. According to him, a certain community is trying to obtain anticonstitutional rights. The prosecutor was particularly concerned about the term "community" mentioned in the party's programme.

The defence said that Sofia City Court had gone too far in the interpretation of the term "community," automatically attributing to it words such as "ethnic" and "religious." The defence lawyer stressed that 27 of the 55 founders of the party are ethnic Bulgarians, while only 5 per cent of the DPS members are Bulgarians. There has been a tendency of winning over Armenians and Jews since the end of 1990.

The Supreme Court as a second instance will pronounce itself on the problem of the registration of the Rights and Freedoms Party within seven days. Meanwhile, the term of registration of political parties for the October 13 elections expires.

Mr. Dogan confirmed for the ANATOLIAN NEWS AGENCY his threats that unless the party is registered, it will boycott the elections and will not recognize their legitimacy. If the Supreme Court rules out the party's registration, Mr. Dogan will demand the government's resignation and will seek international support.

Iinden Macedonian Group Enters Election Fray

AU0909080291 Sofia FAKS in Bulgarian
3 Sep 91 p 1

[Report by Stoyan Dobrev]

[Text] Atanas Kiryakov (35), one of the leaders of the illegal separatist group that calls itself the Iinden Organization, has rushed off to collect signatures supporting his wish to run as an independent candidate in the parliamentary election.

An informed source claimed that, in the event that Mr. Kiryakov loses, Iinden is developing a scenario for declaring that the election was rigged. Meanwhile, in the village of Starchevo, a police patrol caught Iliya Lazarov (29) and Metodi Taskov (21) daubing walls with slogans such as "Macedonia Is Ours," "Hands Off," "Iinden," and so on.

Green Leaders Discusses Election Candidate List

AU0709185591 Sofia Khristo Botev Network
in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] On 7 September in Sofia, a closed meeting of the Green Party National Council took place. The party's candidates for people's deputies who will participate in the list of the Union of Democratic Forces-Liberals [SDS-Liberals] were discussed.

After a stormy debate, the Green Party National Council decided that the party will appear in the election in a coalition with the SDS-Liberals—that is, the Federation of Clubs for Democracy and the Democratic Party-Conservative Alliance, led by Stefan Stoyanov.

The Green Party will not join a greater coalition with the SDS-Center or other opposition forces, Ivan Gorinov, Green Party spokesman, said. According to the National

Council, it is advisable to appear at the election with a list of people already recognizable by the voters.

Owners' Party Seeks Admission to SDS

AU0709185191 Sofia BTA in English 1724 GMT
7 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 7 (BTA)—Unless the Owners' Party is admitted to the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) by September 9, it will nominate its own candidates for the parliamentary elections. It will vote in the local elections with the SDS ballot paper.

This decision was taken today at the party's national conference.

It was said at the conference that the Owners' Party belongs most truly to the SDS that it is part of the SDS electorate. "Defending our interests, however, we can become rivals of the SDS which stopped at power and did not go on with restitution. We must take charge of the return of our own property," participants in the conference said. The other view which was formulated at the conference was that if the party fails to obtain 4 percent of the votes needed to qualify for the distribution of the seats, the vote will be split in favour of the Communists.

So far the party has sent the SDS leadership a written request for admission. According to Mr. Dimitur Todorov, leader of the Owners' Party, it received a verbal reply in the negative. The conference decided that a group of the party should meet with Mr. Filip Dimitrov, leader of the SDS, for an ultimate answer on Monday.

Provided it forms a coalition with the SDS, the party will hope for 4 or 5 seats which will allow it to defend its followers' interests.

The Owners' Party was registered on May 5. It is a successor to the Union of Owners in Bulgaria which has existed for almost 100 years and was restored in August 1990.

National Interests Committee Holds Conference

AU0709161091 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian
2 Sep 91 p 2

[DEMOKRATSIYA report: "Betrayal of National Interests"]

[Text] "Let us expunge the shame in the eyes of the whole of Bulgaria"—these words of one of the speakers may explain the sense of the national conference of the Nationwide Committee for Defense of National Interests [OKZNI] held on 1 August in Khaskovo, at which

125 delegates represented 30 organizations from throughout the country. The delegates' task was to seek a solution regarding the social rehabilitation of OKZNI after its political representative, the Fatherland Party of Labor, had entered into a coalition with the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP].

It became clear at the conference that the decision on "this criminal act against Bulgaria's national interests was made contrary to the organization's statute, in the absence of the leadership of the Fatherland Party of Labor legitimately represented at the party's last congress."

The conference expelled from OKZNI all of the members of the town and regional leaderships who had supported this self-destructive coalition and elected a new leadership with Dimitur Arnaudov as chairman. The declaration adopted at the conference states: "The Fatherland Party of Labor was created by OKZNI as its political image. The entry of the latter into a coalition with the BSP dealt a blow against OKZNI's sociopolitical prestige and discredited its national unifying character. OKZNI will not support Fatherland Party of Labor candidates in the forthcoming elections."

European Investment Bank Grants Credit

AU0609184091 Sofia BTA in English 1737 GMT
6 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 6 (BTA)—Under a frame agreement with the European Investment Bank which was signed today Bulgaria is to receive a 200-million-ECU [European Currency Unit] credit for infrastructure building. Further cooperation is possible with this European financial institution in the spheres of power engineering and environmental protection, Bulgarian Television reported in its central news programme this evening.

National Bank Denies Report of Monetary Reform

AU0909111791 Sofia BTA in English 1034 GMT
9 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 9 (BTA)—A monetary reform is intensely being prepared, but it is still unclear when it is to take place, writes "FAKS," quoting a source close to the government. According to this newspaper, the ratio will be 10:1, above a certain limit it will reach 20:1.

The governor of the National Bank of Bulgaria, Prof. Todor Vulchev, however, has stated that the National Bank envisages no monetary reform. Mr. Vasil Kolarov, ex-governor of the National Bank and now MP for the Bulgarian Socialist Party, also says that there is no political force or economic team, capable of upholding a monetary reform at the present moment.

Federal Government Bans Three Unions' Activities

LD0609204391 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas
Radio Network in Czech 1930 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Text] The Federal Interior Ministry decided on 21 August to withdraw permission given to the World Federation of Trade Unions, the International Union of Students, and the International Organization of Journalists to have their headquarters and be active in Czechoslovakia. This was announced to the Czechoslovak press agency today by Martin Fendrych, the Federal Interior Ministry press spokesman.

He said that the Ministry informed all the organizations in question about this step, and they had an opportunity to put forward a so-called representation [rozklad] during a 15-day period that would result in postponement.

According to unofficial information, not a single one of the organizations applied for this.

Answering a question by the Czechoslovak press agency, Pavel Rychetsky, deputy premier of the Federal Government, confirmed that the decision was formally correct and lies exclusively within the competence of the Federal Interior Ministry and not the Federal Government.

National Councils Hold Talks; Issue Communique

LD0609174991 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas
Radio Network in Czech 1435 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Text] The participants in the joint discussions of the presidia of the Czech and Slovak National Councils held a news conference at the close of their meeting in Bratislava Castle. We now offer you a short voice excerpt from it. Dagmar Buresova, chairwoman of the Czech National Council, briefed journalists on the communique adopted:

[Begin Buresova recording] First, the presidia of the National Councils declare that the process of drafting the constitutions will be based on the preservation of the continuity of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic and on the observance of constitutional procedures.

Second, the Slovak political representation does not regard the existing Federation and its constitutional arrangement as final. In drafting the constitution of the Slovak Republic and in drafting the constitution of the common state, it will pursue the principle of the sovereignty of the Slovak Republic.

Third, the Czech political representation understands these discussions as a continuation of the agreement reached in Kromeriz and regards the most substantive agreement as that on the question of preserving the continuity of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic and the observance of constitutional procedures.

Fourth, the presidia of the National Councils exchanged views on the division of powers. They reached an agreement on the view that the common state requires a common economic space, the attributes of which will be

specified further. The presidia of the National Councils agreed to establish specialist commissions composed of experts and representatives of all three governments, who will work out expert, joint standpoints on the functional and purposeful division of powers for individual areas taking international legal connections into account at the same time. The conclusions they will work out will serve as background material for future joint discussions of the presidia of the National Councils.

Fifth, the presidia of the Czech National Council and the Slovak National Council decided to propose to the National Councils to conclude a treaty that will contain a joint proposal of the principles of the future federal constitution. Both National Councils will respect this treaty when adopting republic constitutions. The new federal constitution should be ratified by the National Councils.

Sixth, the presidia of the Czech National Council and the Slovak National Council agree to propose to the National Councils to apply legislative initiatives with regard to amending the Constitutional Law No. 143/1968 of the digest on the Czechoslovak Federation in the text of the consequent constitutional laws through which the ratification of the new constitution of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic will be amended by the legislative bodies of both republics.

Seventh, the presidia of the National Councils agreed to work out, by the end of 1991 at the latest, drafts of all basic documents of the new constitutional system. [end recording]

Dubcek Assesses Talks

LD0809203491 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas
Radio Network in Czech 1800 GMT 8 Sep 91

[Text] Speaking about the results of the Bratislava talks between the presidia of the Czech and Slovak National Councils, Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek said today that he remained an advocate of such a course of action that preserves the common Czechoslovak statehood. He said the current accord reached by the two presidia created an opportunity to change from general, and very often unfruitful, discussions to discussing the real content of the agreements. He considers as most important the agreement that the process of drafting the constitutions would be based on maintaining the continuity of the CSFR and on observing constitutional methods. He voiced a view that the new federation would probably be an expression of self-administration of the republics and not of a centralized unitarianism, which is not in accordance with the current democratic processes nor with the market economy.

Alexander Dubcek further stated that the breakup of the Czechoslovak state would at the present time have

far-reaching and even unimaginable consequences. He said there are too many factors on the present political scene, both in the Czech Republic and in Slovakia, and therefore, it is necessary to achieve a majority consensus. If a majority—especially in the national but also in the federal legislature—did not make a decision, then a referendum as the highest choice of democracy should be given a chance. Alexander Dubcek concluded that he remained an optimist, even in this complex political atmosphere.

Party Leaders on Federation Chances

LD0609182591 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas
Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Excerpts] In the context of talks between the presidia of the Czech and the Slovak National Councils, the Civic Movement [OH] and the Civic Democratic Alliance [ODA] drew attention to the possibility that Slovak independence could be declared unilaterally. Marie Fleissigova reports:

[Fleissigova] Alarm concerning this issue was expressed in separate briefings (MN: by CM and CDA) by politicians of a different orientation—Daniel Kroupa [of the ODS] and Pavel Rychetsky [of the OH]. Both men described such a step as unconstitutional—regardless of whatever form it may assume—as either a resolution, a Slovak National Council law, or a so-called full constitution.

Daniel Kroupa, representative of the Civic Democratic Alliance, called on the Slovak National Council to take a constitutional course of action and enable citizens to put forward their views in a referendum on whether they wish to live in a common state with the Czechs.

At the Civic Movement briefing, Pavel Rychetsky also called on the Czech side to behave in a responsible way. [passage omitted]

Answering a question by the Czechoslovak Press Agency, Pavel Rychetsky said that the chance to preserve our federation is roughly 50 percent. [passage omitted]

Miklosko Views Constitutional Problems

LD0609181691 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas
Radio Network in Czech 1435 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Text] As has emerged from the communique on the talks between the presidia of both National Councils, not all problems have been resolved completely and finally. Listen now to the views given by Frantisek Miklosko, chairman of the Slovak National Council:

[Begin Miklosko recording in Slovak] The range of problems ahead of us is approximately as follows:

First, it will involve the tackling of that part of the treaty that will be concerned with the division of powers. In this regard, the Slovak side advanced the view that it proceeds from the absolute jurisdiction or competence of the republics to yield some powers to the federation, and

the question of taxes, customs, common currency and budgets had been discussed by Slovak experts.

The Czech side, on the other hand, expressed the view that the starting point should be the existing state of powers as enshrined in the constitutional law adopted in December last year, which could either be restricted or expanded in the spirit of decisions to be taken by commissions of experts.

The second problem is rather of a constitutional and legal character. It is not as yet quite clear what kind of character the treaty will have. The Slovak side's basic attitude is that the federation should be created from below. The Slovak side speaks more about an inter-republican treaty, while perhaps the Czech side speaks more about a legislative initiative of the Czech National Council and the Slovak National Council that then should form a base for the drafting of the federal constitution. Here we shall have to continue in clarifying our standpoints. [end recording]

VPN Discusses Constitutional, Legal Situation

AU0809152991 Bratislava VEREJNOST
in Slovak 3 Sep 91 pp 1, 2

[Ivan Rajec report: "A Time of Tests for Democracy"]

[Excerpts] Jozef Kucerak, chairman of the Public Against Violence [VPN] Movement Slovak Council, began yesterday's press briefing by saying: "Ladies and gentlemen, this is a testing time for democracy; how serious the political parties and movements were about the programs they entered last year's elections with will also be tested." He then stressed that, first and foremost, constitutional and legal arrangement matters and preparations for the treaty between the Slovak National Council [SNR] and the Czech National Council are the main issues involved. The VPN is still of the opinion that it is only possible to contribute to a situation that can be called democratic by using democratic and constitutional methods and that we can only avoid an anarchic situation in our state by taking the democratic and constitutional path. [passage omitted]

SNR Deputy Marcel Stryko also mentioned the future constitutional and legal arrangement in his speech. He spoke in particular about the so-called "pure" constitution: "The pure constitution as a concept is an operationally and factually incorrect concept and, understandably, involves a complete constitution. That is, it is the kind of constitution that would deal with all the requirements that should be contained in the constitution of an independent state. The VPN considers such a method for dealing with our problems to be a rather 'impure' way of resolving relations between the two republics." In another part of his speech, he referred to the danger that a dualistic legal situation [dvojpravna situacia] could arise. The federal constitution would deal with, for example, relations with the Army, while the Slovak constitution would also deal with certain relations.

Peter Tatar, chairman of the VPN Deputies' Club in the SNR, briefed journalists on the Slovak legislature's fall session. He mentioned the Democratic Party's proposal to recall SNR Deputy Chairwoman Olga Keltosova from her post: "If the Democratic Party submits the proposal, and if it is agreed upon at the coalition talks, we will support it." [passage omitted]

M. Stryko surprised the journalists when he said that, if the will of the Slovak nation was to establish an independent Slovak state, the VPN would subject itself to this will.

KSSB Calls Off Merger Talks With ODS

AU0809152791 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY
in Czech 3 Sep 91 p 2

[Roman Krasnický report: "Kotas Versus Klaus"]

[Text] Jiri Kotas, Conservative Party-Free Bloc [KSSB] chairman, announced that his party has terminated merger talks with the Civic Democratic Party [ODS]. Representatives of both parties commented yesterday to LIDOVE NOVINY on the unexpected termination of their long-term ties.

ODS Chairman V. Klaus expressed his surprise over this decision. "It was apparently due to the impatience of Mr. Kotas, but unfortunately the ODS—as opposed to the KSSB—has an extensive organizational structure and cannot decide on a merger with another political party quickly. We were prepared to raise the question at our congress," the ODS chairman said. J. Kotas described the ODS statement at Friday's session, that the process of consolidation can never become a process of fusion of two entities, as the principal reason for the separation. Yet, Tories rejected joining the ODS individually and proposed a joint congress on the basis of which a joint party would be established. "This is not a problem of disputes within the right wing, but of a controversy between Tories and a large part of the former Civic Forum," the KSSB chairman said and denied reports that he demanded a certain number of seats in the leadership of the new party and the report of a ridiculously low membership in his party. According to him, the party has approximately 1,000 members.

It seems that the current conflict is much more a reflection of personal antipathies between the heads of the two parties than of the interests of their supporters who expect a formation of a strong right-wing group. The ODS and KSSB representatives do not exclude the possibility of further cooperation, but J. Kotas foresees a strong conservative party capable of entering the elections on its own. Regarding the undeveloped character of the political scene in Czechoslovakia, the idea might not be as fantastic as it seems.

Committees Discuss IMF Agreement, Mosnov Affair

AU0809163991 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY
in Czech 5 Sep 91 pp 1, 2

[CTK and "(ha)"-signed report: "The Mosnov Operation in the Federal Assembly"]

[Text] The Economic Committees yesterday recommended that the Federal Assembly plenum express at its next joint session its approval of the adoption of a third appendix to the agreement with the International Monetary Fund.

The object of this appendix is to enable the IMF to limit the rights of its members in the event that they do not meet their basic obligations, especially if they do not meet their financial responsibilities arising from the loans provided to them. The appendix, as Josef Vetrovsky—a Federal Finance Ministry representative—said, is in reaction to the increasing number of debtors. In 1990, the aggregate total debt amounted to \$4.5 billion. He also pointed out to the deputies that the text of this appendix was drawn up before the CSFR became a member of the Fund and that its wording has not been altered. It will become binding following its approval by a three fifths majority of IMF member states. Increasing members' quotas by an average of approximately 50 percent is closely associated with the adoption of the appendix. In Czechoslovakia's case, this sum will rise from 590 to 847 SDR [special drawing rights] next year. This fluctuating so-called special drawing rights unit now amounts to approximately \$1.43.

The Defense and Security Committees discussion on the Mosnov operation, scheduled on 3 September for 1600, was delayed for 55 minutes. The committees' members—and many others—were waiting for the arrival of Federal Interior Minister Jan Langos. He then briefed the committees on the initial information that led to the order being issued and on a report on the course of the operation drafted by its main protagonists. He also stated that he has established an investigative group that, on the basis of all the background material available, will determine whether 1) the initial information was deliberate misinformation from the start; 2) whether there was an information leak and the sought-after container was removed; 3) whether the container was simply not found; and 4) whether the initial information was incorrectly evaluated.

CSFR Defense Minister Lubos Dobrovsky emphasized that the military police guaranteed the operation's smooth course and that the soldiers' conduct, despite a certain change to the sequence of events, was in compliance with his order. CSFR Prosecutor General Ivan Gasparovic confirmed that his office is conducting an investigation into whether or not the public was endangered and said that this investigation is just beginning. His replies to deputies' questions corresponded to this fact. Some deputies expressed their surprise at the fact that the Military Prosecutor's Office—according to

Senior Military Prosecutor Miroslav Krizenecky—is not conducting a further investigation into the original issue.

Members of the Federal Assembly Defense and Security Committees expressed their support for Ministers Langos and Dobrovsky and for their decision to initiate a security operation at Ostrava-Mosnov Airport. At the same time, they want an analysis of the operation's course to be drawn up and presented to Federal Assembly committees. In this connection, they adopted a resolution late in the evening in which they stated that they could find no reason to cast doubt on the ability of the most senior representatives in the Federal Interior and Defense Ministries.

Deputies and members of the Federal Assembly Defense and Security Committees also expressed their conviction that the partial mistakes and oversights in coordinating and carrying out the operation will be a source of experience for the possible preparation of other operations of a similar nature.

Czech Government, LDS Address Mosnov Issue

AU0809151291 Bratislava PRAVDA
in Slovak 3 Sep 91 p 2

[CTK report: "The Liberal Democratic Party Demands Langos' and Kanturek's Recall"]

[Text] Prague— At its regular session yesterday, the Czech Republic Government Presidium dealt with, among other things, the incident at Mosnov airport on 29 August and asked Czech Prime Minister Pithart to discuss the matter with CSFR Prime Minister Marian Calfa. As follows from the Czech Republic Government Office's communique passed to CTK yesterday, the Czech prime minister was given this task because the entire situation is unclear. It is important that there be a two-way flow of information during the discussion between the two prime ministers.

The Liberal Democratic Party [LDS] leadership demands the immediate dismissal of Federal Interior Minister Jan Langos and the Czechoslovak Television Central Director Jiri Kanturek in connection with the "storming" of Mosnov airport and the subsequent sympathetic reporting about the action by Czechoslovak Television. In a statement given to CTK by an LDS representative, Hana Mahlerova, the party demands that an extraordinary Federal Assembly meeting be convened to "seriously deal with the storming of Mosnov airport."

The LDS leadership is of the opinion that the storming of the airport jointly by the Federal Ministry of the Interior and the Federal Ministry of Defense sets a serious and dangerous precedent. "Both old and new structures at the Ministry of the Interior represent a danger to the public if consequences are not immediately drawn from this legally unjustified incident and from the sympathetic manner in which Czechoslovak Television reported it," says the LDS declaration.

The legality and justifiability of the action taken by the Federal Interior Ministry Rapid Deployment Unit and the Military Police in Ostrava-Mosnov—including the legality of the course of the action—is being investigated by the Military Prosecutor. This was confirmed by Lieutenant Colonel Jan Dubensky, spokesman of the Military Prosecutor General. His announcement said that the Military Prosecutor is unable to provide more details. However, the public will be informed about the case by CTK if the results of the investigation permit.

An inter-departmental Civilian Air-Traffic Safety Commission, which is supposed to meet this week, will decide about the further course of action in connection with the 29 August intervention at Ostrava's airport. Jiri Nohynek, Security Supervisor of the Czechoslovak Airlines said this to a CTK reporter yesterday.

Pittner Views Police Corps Law, Mosnov Incident

AU0909100691 Bratislava VEREJNOST
in Slovak 4 Sep 91 p 1

[Interview with Slovak Interior Minister Ladislav Pittner by Andrej Javorsky; place and date not given: "In Order To Prevent a Police War...."]

[Excerpts] [Javorsky] Minister, you participated in the meeting of the Slovak National Council Defense and Security Committee yesterday. What was the reason for your presence at the meeting of such an important legislative body?

[Pittner] One law on the Slovak Republic Police Corps has been passed, but there is still one law to be passed in the legislature. This is the government bill on the employment of members of the Slovak Republic Police Corps. This is what we discussed yesterday.

[Javorsky] Could you briefly describe this draft law?

[Pittner] The law should deal with legal matters as applied in the Police Corps—from the outward identification of their rank up to their social security, wages, entitlements, and the protection of their rights while on duty. This is the group of problems that the law should deal with. This should satisfy the public and—from the point of view of social security—the policemen, too.

[Javorsky] From the security point of view, the overall situation in Slovakia has become stable, despite the fact that crime is still quite frequent. However, it is important that crime is not rising. On the contrary, for example, the number of thefts has declined significantly and losses caused by thefts are declining by 2 million korunas every week. I would like to say that our department is proposing a procedure that should be observed when prosecuting petty thefts (we call them canned-fruit thefts). Since the value of stolen property is immaterial, they have to be documented in the same manner as genuinely serious cases. This taxes the efforts of the Police Corps. The Police Corps has too much work, since there are still not enough policemen. This is why we want

to adopt the practice used in the Anglo-Saxon countries where the policeman acts merely as a witness in court when the court deals with such a minor theft. [passage omitted]

[Javorsky] One more unpleasant question. What is your opinion of the Ostrava-Mosnov airport case?

[Pittner] After three relatively independent police corps have been established, one federal and two republican, it has become evident that there must be coordination between them. To avoid what we call a police war, even the most secret operation should be coordinated at a certain level. The operation of the police corps—and this includes the Slovak Police Corps—must be improved to avoid the situation in which an attack led by a false Rapid Deployment Unit could actually be a terrorist attack. From this point of view, our policemen must be more vigilant.

Discusses Screenings Law

AU0909081591 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA
in Slovak 5 Sep 91 p 13

[Interview with Slovak Interior Minister Ladislav Pittner by J. Ferko, reprinted from PRACE No. 207; place and date not given: "Our Era Is Pregnant With Hatred"—first paragraph is NARODNA OBRODA introduction]

[Text] At its session last week, the Slovak Government also dealt with the draft of the much proclaimed (screenings) "law on prohibiting employment" put forward by the Federal Government. PRACE's J. Ferko asked Slovak Interior Minister Ladislav Pittner for an interview on the "screenings" issue:

[Ferko] What were the Slovak Government's comments regarding this draft law?

[Pittner] The Slovak Government mainly expressed itself on two issues. First, it agreed that it would be appropriate to adhere to the originally approved principles. This should only concern the part of the State Security [StB] that operated in the section involved in the struggle against the internal enemy and those citizens who cooperated with the StB in this section. We think that an across-the-board expansion of the law to include all StB officers, that is, to include those who worked—for example—in the economic protection, nuclear power plant protection, intelligence technology, surveillance, counterespionage, and other sectors would weaken the current operations being carried out by bodies in all three interior ministries.

Second, this prohibition on carrying out certain functions should not only concern secretaries from the district level upwards, it should also concern those who were executive nomenclatura cadres in Communist Party committees from the district level upwards. In the 1970's and 1980's, the StB was just an executive body for party functionaries, that is, the party apparatus controlled the StB at that time. Military counterintelligence (VKR), forgotten in this draft law, was also involved in the section dealing with the struggle against the internal enemy. VKR officers, and their civil collaborators, have a great many injustices on their consciences.

[Ferko] Is any kind of time limit on prohibiting employment considered in this draft law?

[Pittner] The originally approved principles envisaged that this would not be an absolute restriction; it would be for a certain time limit. This is mentioned, but not defined, in the draft law.

[Ferko] During Mr. Sacher's period in office, it was said that 15,000 files—most likely concerning the most important people—disappeared from the StB's archives. How can we politically come to terms with this fact?

[Pittner] A solution would be the one that has already appeared in our press following the unsuccessful coup attempt in the Soviet Union, that is, to ask the USSR to hand over all the files that concern KGB collaborators from among the ranks of our citizens.

[Ferko] The wider context of so-called debolshevization was considered at a recent meeting with Prime Minister J. Carnogursky. The repugnance a considerable number of citizens feel about a purge could, for example, be manifested in the next elections if they vote for left-wing parties.

[Pittner] Following the collapse of totalitarianism, our era is pregnant with hatred and spite. These "cheap" revolutionaries, those who come up with extreme demands, are typical of all similar past and present post-revolutionary periods. Therefore, I think it would be unwise to somehow make permanent enemies out of a certain group of citizens and, regardless of their actual guilt, chase them into a corner just because they were members of the Communist Party. We have condemned the principle of collective guilt. We should also adhere to this principle during so-called debolshevization.

[Ferko] That is, we should proceed in accordance with certain general rules, but, at the same time, they should be applied on a strictly individual basis?

[Pittner] Yes. This would make sure that direct individual guilt is ascertained, because I know—from my own experience—many former communists who helped us dissidents and, on the contrary, I know many non-party members who were very dangerous for us.

Defense Spokesman Rejects Idea of Military Bloc

LD0709043591 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network
in Hungarian 2000 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Excerpts] With the prolongation of the crisis in Yugoslavia and the disintegration of the Soviet Union, security in Central-Eastern Europe has decreased. Despite this, none of the countries in the region wants to create a military bloc. Ernoe Kardos has spoken to Defense Ministry spokesman Gyorgy Keleti: [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Kardos] Has there been talk of the three countries bringing their relations—military relations, not just economic or political relations—closer?

[Keleti] It is not a question here of bringing military relations closer, but of consultations and exchanges of opinion within the European security system, perhaps including cooperation within the UN's peacekeeping role and briefing each other within this system. As I have said, cooperation in the economic sphere, but in military industry, could be advantageous for the economies of all three countries.

[Kardos] Now that the Soviet Union has fallen apart, is it realistic to need a military bloc? Should military ties be brought closer?

[Keleti] A military bloc ceased here in Eastern, Central-Eastern Europe, recently on 1 April. There is no point in creating another military bloc. Ultimately, we envisage a Europe outside any bloc and the formation of a collective security system that guarantees the security of individual countries that is independent of any military bloc and that guarantees the security of the population. [end recording]

Ministry Spokesman on Recognition of Baltics

AU0709150791 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP
in Hungarian 5 Sep 91 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Foreign Ministry Spokesman Janos Herman by Hanna Szalay; place and date not given: "The Government Will Observe the Agreements—We Will Not Disregard Anything"]

[Text] The idea that the Hungarian Government would not recognize an agreement because it was signed by a former government is simply not true—Janos Herman told MAGYAR HIRLAP. We asked Janos Herman to clarify the terminology used in connection with the Hungarian recognition of the Baltic independence, a terminology that can be misinterpreted:

[Szalay] Will the formulation according to which "no independent Hungarian government" has ever recognized the Soviet occupation of the Baltic states lead to a certain legal uncertainty and foreign distrust? Does this statement mean a departure from the principle that the Antall government would fulfill its predecessors' obligations, by claiming that these predecessors were not independent and were forced to make their decisions?

[Herman] No, because there is a consensus in this country, namely that Hungary regained its full independence when the last foreign soldier left its territory. Besides, Hungary did not have any share whatsoever in the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact that delivered the Baltic states to the Soviet Union, and no Hungarian government has even recognized this pact. Just like the rest of the world, the various post-war Hungarian governments simply acknowledged the fact that these countries were part of the Soviet Union, on the basis of the international legal principle of reality. Legal continuity stops in connection with an agreement in which Hungary has never participated and thus, Hungary had no obligations in this respect. Besides, it is well known that, until quite recently, the articles of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact in connection with the Baltic states have been secret, or their existence has been simply denied; nothing of the sort has been claimed because these countries allegedly "voluntarily" requested their acceptance into the Soviet Union.

[Szalay] Will the Hungarian Government now start selecting between pleasant and unpleasant agreements and obligations by mentioning its predecessors who were not independent?

[Herman] Not at all. Hungary fully respects every valid international agreement that it also accepted by the world. We will not violate the previous friendship agreements, but we will negotiate on signing new agreements. The idea that the Hungarian Government would not recognize an agreement because it was signed by a previous government is not true, and it contradicts the international law clearly respected by the Hungarian Government. In this concrete case, I repeat that Hungary had nothing to do with the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, Hungary did not accept it under international law, and it did not sign it; therefore, Hungary can say that it does not recognize its legality. By doing this, Hungary is not violating anything.

[Szalay] What bothers me is that Hungary could clearly recognize the sovereignty of the Baltic states even if it did not refer to anything, especially after the dramatic changes that have taken place in the Soviet Union. This is why I think this reference to something else could lead to misinterpretations. Besides, the basis of the territorial reorganization after World War II was the winner's right, rather than the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact.

[Herman] I would like to stress again that, at its very inception, the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact was an agreement that violated the basic norms of international law, and its illegality mainly rests on this, rather than on whether third countries recognized it or not. Similarly, the Baltic states regained their sovereignty primarily due to their own struggle and to the consistent support of the democratic community, including the democratic Hungary, and also due to the changes that occurred in the Soviet Union. Sovereignty has been restored to the Baltic states in accordance with the principles and norms stipulated in the UN Charter and confirmed in the

documents of the Helsinki process. This provides the major guarantee of sovereignty, independence, security, and stability to all of them and also to Hungary, a country that is also well aware of the "winners' rights."

Free Democrats Analyze Crisis Management Program

*AU0709153491 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP
in Hungarian 2 Sep 91 p 9*

["K.M."-signed report: "Alliance of Free Democrats Membership Discusses Crisis Management Program"]

[Text] The National Council of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] has assessed its previous party debates on the SZDSZ crisis management program. Incidentally, the SZDSZ will continue to analyze this package of ideas, and the party is expected to approve its crisis management program at the end of September. We asked Karoly Attila Soos, economic expert of the SZDSZ and chairman of the National Assembly's budget committee, about the state of agreements so far.

In his reply, Soos informed us that the greatest debate had developed around the privatization issue. The SZDSZ party membership unanimously agrees that we should aim for quick privatization and that the pace dictated by the government is rather slow. However, if the pace is accelerated, it will be difficult to prevent the exclusion of Hungarian private individuals and the complete invasion of foreign capital. The problem primarily arises with the privatization of property that represents a great fortune. For example, when enterprises with considerable wealth are sold, preference may be given to workers, but the problem is that only those people who actually work in the factory or plant that is waiting to be sold can become owners. As for the granting of preferential credits, this would primarily benefit those who already have some property. Indeed, these people are the ones who could provide security for the loans, whereas other people would be taking on responsibilities that they could hardly fulfill. The same applies to the buy-out of workers and managers. As for the free distribution of property as a civic right, this would lead to a rise in inflation. Regardless of this, the SZDSZ membership believes that by combining the aforementioned possibilities, privatization could be accelerated in such a way as to give Hungarian private individuals a role to play.

Stressing the SZDSZ membership's viewpoint, Karoly Attila Soos stated that the measures expected from the Kupa program [named after Hungary's Finance Minister Mihaly Kupa] were not being implemented and that the Kupa program provided no solutions for crisis management or economic acceleration. One of the main reasons for this is that the program's plans are subordinated to the government's political and ideological aims. The economic expert said that the fact that the government had submitted a mere six economic bills by mid-June—the Kupa plan had promised 20 economic bills for this year—was a case in point. (Incidentally, the Assembly approved all of these six bills.) So it is not the

Assembly but the government that is slow. According to Soos, it is unlikely that the Assembly will be able to seriously deal with any bills this year apart from next year's budget, the social security budget, and the tax bills. Moreover, the state budget bill that is being presented to the legislative committees at the moment does not live up to previous expectations that the state would play a less significant role. The bill on banks does not bring any changes either because it does not foresee a reduction in the state role played by large banks.

The SZDSZ membership severely criticizes the government's overspending and the constant growth of its bureaucracy. As Soos pointed out, this process cannot be stopped until the structure of expenditures is modified. If this structure remains unchanged, and if funds continue to decrease, this will simply amplify the malfunctions of the system that have developed.

Incidentally, the SZDSZ membership takes exception to the "secrecy" mania that has once again started to characterize the government's work, just like in the 1980's.

MDF Suggests Investigations of 'Old Regime'

*AU0809151791 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP
in Hungarian 3 Sep 91 p 3*

["U.K."-signed report: "Csurka on People Who Hinder the Change of Regime—The Old Regime's Men Are Still in Power"]

[Text] At a weekend rally in Szolnok, legislative representative Istvan Csurka, presidium member of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], held out the prospect that people's offenses against the success of the change of regime in the past one and a half years would be examined. Csurka told our correspondent what he actually meant by this statement.

The huge dissatisfaction in our society is one of the reasons for this plan, he said. Many people think that the Hungarian change of regime is somewhat slow and drawn-out and that it is not comprehensive enough. Many people think that it is unfair that the majority of people only suffer the disadvantages of the changes, while some people might illegally profit from them, Csurka emphasized. According to Csurka, the other side of the problem was highlighted by the Soviet events. They showed him that the fall of Gorbachev and of the processes he had initiated was caused by the fact that Gorbachev was unable to break the power of the group of cadres and corrupt people who opposed the changes. Csurka is not worried that all this could occur in Hungary, but it is evident that this issue is not settled in Hungary either. Some people who reached power in the old regime are still in power, and they are still able to increase their wealth.

It is primarily the economic sphere that is characterized by this phenomenon, he said. The sabotage actions of

these people—for example the meat sales and the taxi drivers' blockade—seriously hindered progress. In addition, the problems of compensation are rooted in the fact that these people are trying to talk the uninformed people out of pursuing their intentions, Csurka stated.

All this obliges the government and other forces that support the change of regime to examine the facts. This is not an easy thing to start, and it cannot be initiated by a legislative decree, but it has to begin just the same, Csurka emphasized. In his opinion, there is legal provision to do this because people's suitability and their activities can be investigated. He referred mainly to the

leaders of institutions. All this would be made easier by a law that would make it obligatory to investigate suspected cases, and possibly also to start criminal proceedings based on the investigation results.

Answering a question on the timing of actual action in this matter, Csurka said that, at the earliest, it would start after the MDF's current county rallies.

There are no plans yet on the way the group of affected people can be marked out, but we are not so frightened that we have to hurry, Csurka reassured us.

Communique Outlines Proposed Constitutional Change
LD0809132191 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network
in Polish 1005 GMT 8 Sep 91

["Very extensive fragment" of Government Press Office communique released following 7 September Council of Ministers meeting—read by announcer]

[Text] The permanent form of relations between the main centers of government in Poland should certainly be the subject of a new constitution, but as is known, the conclusion of work on its draft bill is still far away. In this context, the government's initiative to create its own kind of bridgehead for the new constitutional order has in mind the efficiency of state operations, both before and after the elections, when the political strength of the public's mandate will be held by Parliament as well as the president.

The constitutional amendment proposed by the government [word indistinct] to avoid a potential renewal of tension between the highest centers of government. The proposed solution is designed for the future and offers to strengthen the state. Because the process of building a democratic system is a long one, this is all the more reason not to expose it to shocks resulting from the legal order of the previous era. Introducing new regulations concerning the executive government will create a useful and verifiable basis for their possible use in the Constitution of the Third Republic.

[Word indistinct] draft presented by the government, the prime minister, and members of the government will be appointed and recalled by the president. Responsibility for the creation of the executive will be in his hands. This, linked to the existing unchangeable powers of the president in relation to the government, will place him on the side of the executive within the system of division of government. A government so appointed, however, after having presented the Sejm with its policy and composition, will have to obtain a vote of confidence from the Sejm expressed by an absolute majority of votes. The government can only begin functioning after obtaining the acceptance of the Sejm. Such a mechanism will assure that the Sejm has an important influence over the formation of the executive, while eliminating the danger of it not being appointed.

Simultaneously, during the course of a government, the Sejm can hold a vote of no confidence in it that, if passed, will automatically cause the dismissal of the Council of Ministers. This will be another element of control by the Sejm over the government. A legal procedural mechanism is also anticipated if the Sejm refuses to support the government and is itself going to be able to form the strong parliamentary majority required. Then it will be empowered to appoint a candidate to the post of prime minister, whom the president will be bound to entrust with the mission of forming a cabinet. This will be an important and constructive element of balance between the Sejm and president. If, however, the Sejm blocks a government appointed by the president for

three months and itself does not have the political strength to appoint a candidate to the post of prime minister, then the president, after having sought the views of the Senate, can dissolve it and call elections.

The government has decided to convey the draft constitutional amendment to the Sejm, declaring its conviction that the proposed form assures conditions stabilizing and rationalizing the governing of the state in a situation where a new political and economic system is being constructed.

Council Adopts Changes

LD0709222191 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network
in Polish 2100 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Excerpt] The Council of Ministers' debates lasted five hours. Following the meeting, government spokesman Andrzej Zarebski said, among other things:

[Begin Zarebski recording] The government adopted the draft changes to the Constitution and has decided to send the proposals to the Sejm at the beginning of next week. The government's proposals aim at strengthening executive power in the state, that is, the government of which the prime minister and the [cabinet] members would be appointed by the president. The Sejm would, however, retain the right to confirm the president's choice and could also propose a motion of no confidence in the government—which would mean, should it gain a majority of votes, the dismissal of the government. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Sejm Debates Special Powers; Party Views Reported

LD0609230691 Warsaw PAP in English 2153 GMT
6 Sep 91

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 6—More than 30 speakers took part in the Sejm's (lower house) discussion on the draft law on special powers for the government on Friday. Majority of the speakers were in favour of granting the government special powers to issue decrees with the force of law but an opinion prevailed that these powers should be limited to this year's budget issues only with their scope being precisely defined.

The debate has indicated that the Polish Peasant Party deputies will not be the only ones in voting against the draft. Some other parliamentary clubs have also come out against the government proposals. Serious reservations and firm protests were voiced, however, over the proposals of amendments to the constitution presented to the Sejm during its Friday's debate by Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki.

A full support for the proposed special powers was voiced by the Citizens Parliamentary Club (OKP) which nonetheless expressed hope that the government would use them chiefly in the field of economy. The OKP also opined that special powers do not limit the parliament's

role but, on the contrary, will give it time to hold debates on the general directions of changes in the state.

Leader of the parliamentary floor group of the Democratic Left (PKLD) Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz said during the debate that this year's budget is the only matter on which it will be hard to reach agreement between the government and the Sejm. "People must receive their pay, and this is the only reason why the PKLD may consider the granting of special powers to the government," Cimoszewicz stated.

He also added that the scope of these powers should be narrow, clearly defined and must not embrace changes in the political system. "The concept of changing the political system in a manner resembling the state of emergency does not have our (PKLD) support," he warned.

The Democratic Party parliamentary club said it saw a possibility of granting the government extraordinary powers only to decide upon changes in the budget and upon other economic matters. The amendments to the constitution proposed by the prime minister, however, were described by the SD club as a coup against democracy.

The Labor Solidarity club announced its conditional support for special powers sought by the government stating that it should be precisely defined that economic questions alone and not the questions of the political system can be regulated by decrees.

The parliamentary club of the Polish Peasant Party (PSL) unequivocally spoke out against the proposed special powers for the government. Presenting the PSL club's stand Deputy Waldemar Pawlak stressed that it shared the opinion voiced by the cabinet that the government was not able to rule. "The reason for this is not, however, the lack of executive powers," he said calling the government's initiative to obtain additional powers a trick.

The results of the Friday debate seem to indicate that the Sejm will submit on Saturday the special powers issue to an extraordinary committee called for the purpose. The Sejm is expected to take the final decision on the draft law next week.

Sejm Committee To Examine Special Powers Proposal

LD0809021191 Warsaw PAP in English
2029 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] Warsaw, Sep. 7—The Polish Sejm (lower house) Saturday appointed an extraordinary committee to examine the government draft constitutional law that would grant the government the powers to issue decrees with the force of law.

The House had earlier voted against a motion to reject the special powers bill with a narrow majority of votes: 155 in support of the bill, 147 against, and 32 abstentions.

With a majority of 260 votes, 14 against and 50 abstentions, the Sejm decided to forward the draft to a 54-member body that would meet on the bill next Tuesday, while the Sejm is expected to examine a related government draft law to amend the Polish Constitution during its next three-day meeting to start next Thursday.

Also on Saturday, the chamber decided to transmit after the first reading the government draft law on changes in the activities of the Ministry of National Defence and the principles of managing and commanding the Armed Forces to be examined by respective Sejm committees. The draft marks the beginning of reforms and changes in the whole sector of national defence and stipulates that the post of defence minister should be filled by a civilian, while the Armed Forces should be commanded by the chief of the general staff, a professional military who will also act as general inspector of Polish Armed Forces.

The controversial education draft once again surfaced in the chamber which decided that "teaching and upbringing—while respecting the Christian system of values—is based on universal principles of ethics." A majority of deputies also voted for a clause saying that Polish schools will organize rather than just "create conditions for" religion teaching. The conditions, however, will be consulted with appropriate authorities of the Roman Catholic and other churches and religious unions in Poland.

Meanwhile, the Sejm extraordinary committee for examining the circumstances of the notorious alcohol import scandal upheld its resolve to bring to constitutional accountability persons responsible for legal loopholes that made possible unlimited inflow of foreign alcohol to Poland in the years 1990-91, to the detriment of state budget.

The Sejm committee for constitutional responsibility decided to postulate dropping of the investigation into the responsibility of former communist prime minister (till 1989) Mieczysław F. Rakowski and three members of his government: Kazimierz Olesiak, Andrzej Worblewski and Mieczysław Wilczek for their decision to close the Gdansk shipyard. A group of committee members is however going to formulate a motion to acknowledge constitutional responsibility for the closing and submit it to the lower house for voting. The decision to close the shipyard was regarded as a political move since the Gdansk shipyard was the cradle of the Solidarity movement.

Deputies of the citizens' caucus OKP urged the authorities to render assistance to Poles living in the Vilnius region in Lithuania. They claim the new citizenship bill may deprive the Polish Lithuanians of some rights. They insist the issue should be tackled by the Polish foreign minister during his visit to Lithuania due shortly.

Bielecki 6 Sep Speech to Sejm Reported

LD0609171791 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network
in Polish 1313 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Speech by Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki to the session of the Sejm in Warsaw—live]

[Text] Mr. Speaker, Esteemed Deputies: The problems that we have been faced with in our state have both a temporary and constitutional character. As a result of Solidarity's victory, we are building democracy. We are building a system of freedom and responsibility. We are creating the conditions for a market economy. Our state has found itself at the threshold of a crisis. I spoke about this recently in this chamber, emphasizing that there was a need for solutions that would remove the danger of crisis. That is also why as soon as the esteemed chamber had rejected the dismissal motion, the Council of Ministers decided to submit to the Sejm a draft constitutional law enabling the government to issue decrees having the force of law. We are aware that this is an interim solution resulting from the needs of the moment. We decided to present a draft that explicitly defines which issues we will not be able to resolve with the aid of special powers for the government. We know that the acceptance by the esteemed chamber of the Council of Ministers' proposal will mean an increase in the political and moral responsibility of the government. We do not shirk from that responsibility, since the most important thing is the interest of the state.

May it please the House. The Polish state must be efficient and strong. The world knows various models of democracy. Two principles are common to it: the division of power into the legislative, executive, and judicial, as well as the principle of the public's control over the government through free elections and rich public opinion institutions. Poland is hardly two months away from free parliamentary elections. We are departing from a system of economic utopia and political slavery. The Poland of true socialism was an all-powerful state. State institutions were fused into institutions of the Communist Party. In practice, these activities meant that the democratic principles entered in the Constitution were not applied. That state controlled all areas of public, political, and economic life. It had a police supervisory character and created the need for obedience in people rather than their own initiative. Several generations of Poles were brought up in such a state, and that very state in 1989 went politically, economically, and morally bankrupt. Solidarity at that time rejected the path of force, the path of revolution, by deciding on dialogue, but also on consistency, in the building of a democratic state of law.

That was a responsible choice, resulting from the imperative to guarantee Poland internal calm, the security of her citizens, and the calculability of the Polish transformations in the international context. That choice had, however, and still has a high price. Many institutions and mechanisms with their roots in the spirit of real

socialism are still operating to this day. Furthermore, some of the political forces responsible for getting Poland into such deep crisis are dressing up now in the costumes of defenders of the people, counting on all of us having (?short) memories. [applause]

May it please the House! We are today at a juncture that may turn out to be the breakthrough of breakthroughs. We faced the threat of paralysis of the authorities. There are two causes. One is linked with the temporary political situation; the second is governmental in nature. Only coherent thinking on both of these aspects will create the possibility of solutions that will permit our State to regain efficiency and strength. The special powers that we are requesting the Sejm to grant will enable the reforms to be protected against the opportunism of political games. We know that this is a bad solution regarding the system of government. We know that it may have bad historical connotations. In the current situation, however, we do not see any other way of balancing the responsibility for the State that the government bears with the possibility for effective action. The special powers are to be in force for a strictly defined period. The point is to ensure the effective exercise of authority, particularly during the period when the new Parliament and Government are being constituted. By way of automatic correction, we are limiting this period to two months from the day of the first sitting of our new Parliament. This is an expression of the belief that decrees should not become permanent in the legal system of our State. In the first place, we must tackle the most urgent matters, those that do not violate the hitherto constructed legal order. The ad hoc nature of this solution is not enough; so, at the same time, we have announced the Government initiative of amendments to the Constitution. The idea is to strengthen the standing of the executive power in the State's political system. We do not apply this proposal exclusively to the current moment.

We think that the solutions we propose should remain in force until a new constitution is passed, which will be the great task of the future parliament.

Referring to democratic principles, (?known from) the constitutions of many states, we point to the vital need to create new relations between the parliament, the government, and the president. (?According to the) concepts presented by the government, the Council of Ministers, the prime minister, and members of the cabinet—would be appointed and recalled by the president. The responsibility for creating the executive power would, therefore, be in his hands. The government appointed by him would, however, have to obtain a vote of confidence from the Sejm, expressed by an absolute majority of votes. This would be an essential condition for it to undertake (?activity).

The Sejm would, therefore, retain an influence over the formation of the executive power. It would also have the opportunity during the course of the government's work

to pass a vote of no confidence in it, automatically resulting in the resignation of the Council of Ministers.

This proposal also envisages that the Sejm, by force of two-thirds of the votes, would be able independently to choose a candidate for chairman of the Council of Ministers, to whom in such a situation the president would have to entrust the mission of forming a new government. This is a very important and constructive element of balance between the Sejm and the president, ensuring at the same time stability of the executive authority.

If, however, in the course of three months the government could not begin functioning, the president could—as now—after asking the opinion of the Senate, dissolve the Sejm and order new elections.

In connection with the submitted proposals and the announced government initiative of amendments to the Constitution, we withdraw from the special powers bill the clause on appointing and recalling members of the Council of Ministers by the president.

May it please the House! The building of democracy in Poland cannot be done above the heads of society, for it bears the great burdens linked with the reform process, and it too will decide in October who wins the elections. Today, people in Poland have a sense of being threatened. It affects both individual destinies and the destiny of the state. It would be immoral, dishonest, on the part of the government to agree to the prospect of paralysis of the authorities. We will not strengthen the standing of the state, if it is a weak state, a state easy to deceive, a state that does not guarantee people security.

Ad hoc measures are not enough; new systemic solutions are needed—solutions that give a more precise and comprehensive reply for everyone to the elementary question: Who governs in Poland? Today, Poles give various replies: Solidarity, the church, the president, Parliament. Some say the government. This social incomprehension of the government system has its reflection in the unclear division of powers between the highest bodies of state. At the same time, in the economy the state has lost its ability to control its own, at least from the name, sector. Administrative bodies may interfere in the activity of a state enterprise really only when it completely ceases to fulfill its obligations in relation to the state budget, (and sometimes) is already bankrupt.

Esteemed deputies. Expectations are sometimes linked to the project for special powers for the government, that, thanks to what are popularly called decrees, a fast improvement in living standards in Poland will be possible. We must dispel those expectations at the very outset. Special powers enable us to take decisions more quickly, and their implementation, they also enable austerity measures to be adopted, whose further postponement threatens the collapse of our state budget next year.

In so far as the government's proposal gains the acceptance of the esteemed chamber, this will mean the need to intensify the work of the Council of Ministers. We want to adopt a procedure similar to the one that is obligatory in Parliament. Each of the legislative decrees must be given two readings and, in addition, be given to independent experts for their opinions as well as relevant specialists for the subject matter coming from the legislative council.

May it please the House! Responsibility for the state dictates that we think today in terms of the *raison d'état*. We are not, therefore, exclusively proposing the solutions for ourselves, for this government; but we want to focus discussion on the dangers that lay ahead of us and the methods of overcoming them by the system of government. I profoundly believe that the reform camp will win in the coming parliamentary elections. A new government will be set up. New leaders will appear on the political stage. Thinking of this near future, we must create conditions that will enclose the divisions and conflicts natural to democracy within such a legal framework to protect the state against a crisis of government. It is Parliament that is to decide the laws binding on the government. We want to build a state of law: law fully executed and enforced. The intention of our proposed amendments to the constitution is to safeguard democracy against the possibility of sliding into chaos and inertia. We want a strong and efficient state, but a limited state: a state that does not make its citizens dependent on it, but creates for them the opportunity to realize their aims and protects their civil rights. We must be ahead of our time and think in terms of a long-term reforms.

May it please the House! I move for the examination and adoption of the government's constitutional bill on the issuing of decrees with the force of a statute by the Council of Ministers, together with the proposed auto-corrections. [applause]

Election Poll Shows Democratic Union Ahead

AU0709140991 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA
in Polish 2 Sep 91 p 1

[Jaroslaw Najdowski, Piotr Starzynski report: "The Democratic Union Is Still in the Lead"]

[Text] The latest pre-election poll commissioned by RZECZPOSPOLITA from the Center for Public Opinion Research was conducted last weekend. It examined the degree of support for various political parties and groupings. Respondents were asked to indicate on a list of several dozen political organizations the organizations whose candidates for which they would be most likely to vote.

The list of parties included newly-formed coalitions for the first time (the names that were given were those used in press reports on their formation). The names of parties making up the coalitions and the names of coalition leaders were also given.

Before we look at the latest rankings, we should say something about the level of public interest in the elections. Between April 1991 and July 1991, the projected turnout fell by almost 15 percent.

The recent increase in the projected turnout is linked to the improved mood of the public regarding the political situation. This is undoubtedly attributable to the success of the democrats in the USSR and the restraint shown by our country's political elites, which displayed a readiness to agree and cooperate at an important time for state security. It should be borne in mind that the poll was conducted before the Sejm debate on the government's resignation.

Among those who intend to take part in the elections, the greatest degree of support (20 percent) was enjoyed by the Democratic Union. Following the dip in the party's tendency to gain in influence that was recorded in July 1991, the union is once again the unquestioned leader in the race for seats in Parliament.

Following the May anti-government strikes and demonstrations, when support for the Liberal-Democratic Congress was at its lowest, the party has been steadily gaining in influence.

The political significance of Party "X" is growing, despite its leader's statements supporting the coup d'etat in the USSR. At the same time, the influence of the Social Democratic Party of the Republic of Poland and the National Trade Union Confederation has been declining, which can lead one to conclude that the "reddest" section of the two groups' electorate has decided to give its support to S. Tyminski's party.

"Solidarity" is continuing to lose the support of its potential supporters, and occupies fifth place, after Party "X," in our rankings.

Labor "Solidarity" and the Polish Beer Lovers Party have crossed the 3-percent election threshold for the first time.

Of the coalitions, the Peasant Accord has fared best, getting 13 percent of the vote. It is the only coalition that has obtained more support than each of the coalition parties obtained independently in July 1991.

In the case of the "Center" Citizens Coalition, there been an almost three-fold drop in the number of votes for the groupings making up the alliance compared to July, when each grouping was independent. However, it is worth noting that in the description of the organizations making up the Center Coalition, it was stated that it includes some of the citizens committees. At the same time, the committees themselves, when entered on the list of parties as a separate entity, obtained a minimal number of votes. The number of votes obtained by the Catholic Election Campaign falls within the bounds of statistical error.

The results of the poll tend to support the following conclusion. Even a slight improvement in the mood of the public produces an increase in the level of public readiness to participate in the elections. This is most pronounced in the case of those who are potential Democratic Union and Liberal-Democratic Congress voters.

UDMR Calls For Ban on Vatra Romaneasca

AU0609202391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1046 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/9/1991—The Friday, 6 September issues of newspapers did not fail to report a previous-day wrangle in the Senate on a subject which was not on the agenda. Senator Karoly Szabo, in the name of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania's [UDMR] group, launched a protest against the Vatra Romaneasca union which he accused of having disseminated—at home and abroad—a text which was not only derogatory to ethnic Hungarians but also provocative and which he assessed as having a "fascist, racist character", and falling "under the incidence of criminal laws".

The text, published by the organ of the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party "DREPATATEA", is an alleged appeal of "Vatra Romaneasca" to the population of the country to throw fellow ethnic Hungarians and gypsies out of the country.

Senator Radu Ceantea, founder of the "Vatra Romaneasca" union, in a prompt and strong reaction to the accusations made by the UDMR group, denied the allegations that such a document, which he termed "irresponsible, to say the least" was issued, particularly "in the current political and even military circumstances in the Balkans and the neighboring areas".

Radu Ceantea also said that the fake might have been the work of "Hungarian quarters in Tirgu-Mures" which stole the Vatra Romaneasca seal during last year's events there, and that the UDMR move was an attempt to outlaw the Vatra Romaneasca Union. He ended by asking the relevant bodies urgently to start an inquiry into the matter to find out the truth.

Vasile Vacaru, senate majority leader said the demand for a ban on the Vatra Romaneasca union was "stunning".

All senators who took the floor on that subject agreed that a long delayed libel bill had to be discussed as soon as possible.

Daily Condemns Vatra Romaneasca 'Manifesto'

AU0609202291 Bucharest DREPTATEA
in Romanian 3 Sep p 1

[Paul Lazarescu article: "How Is it Possible?"]

[Text] Our editorial staff received a manifesto signed by the Tirgu Mures branch of the Vatra Romaneasca union (its address is: 34 Trandafirilor Square, Tel. 37-200, Tirgu Mures Regional Branch, as a stamp on the document indicates).

The content of the manifesto exceeds all imagination. How is it possible to disseminate—especially since it is also distributed by mail to Romanians abroad—such a text in the year 1991? How can a union that claims to be

a "cultural" one spread such a chauvinistic and xenophobic text that incites hatred and crime?

Any comment on the Vatra Romaneasca manifesto is futile, because no lucid and healthy mind could accept such sentences as the ones we are reproducing here:

"However, unfortunately (Transylvania's) holy land is still soiled by the Asian feet of Huns, Gypsies, and other dregs of society. Out with the Huns (bozgori [pejorative name used by Romanians for Hungarians], who have never had a hearth on earth) and out with Gypsies, who are a shame for our country (...) Do not be afraid to fight and shed their dirty blood. Hairy apes have no room in our beloved homeland. Now is the most appropriate historical moment to get rid of them and of all those who do not have Romanian blood. We have already chased the Germans away from our homeland, but there are still others whom we do not need. Do all you can to get rid of them. Ceausescu did not live long enough to destroy them, and our nation should not lay down its arms in this respect! We do not need Switzerland! We do not need Europe either. We are Romanians—and do not let yourselves be mesmerized by "Pro-Europe" slogans! (...) Vatra Romaneasca alone—nothing else—is what we need!"

We call on the Vatra Romaneasca union to explain the publication and dissemination of this manifesto. Who and what interest do such texts serve?

Due to an elementary sense of decency, we are not publishing the entire text of the manifesto, which most profoundly harms the whole Romanian nation (however we will publish it if the need arises). Nevertheless, we are at the disposal of all those people who wish to read it.

And we, in our serene naivete, believed that we were resolutely advancing toward Europe!

Magyars Reject Resolution on Minority Languages

LD0709043291 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network
in Hungarian 1600 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Text] The Democratic Federation of Magyars in Romania rejects the resolution from the government in Bucharest that makes the teaching of history and geography in the Romanian language compulsory in those schools in which teaching is carried out in one of the national minority languages. The statement emphasizes that it is a natural obligation for all citizens to have a knowledge of Romania's history and geography. However, to dictate that they must be taught in Romanian infringes on the right to education in their mother tongue and to the preservation of individual culture. It impairs the effectiveness of education, the document states.

The Democratic Federation of Magyars in Romania advises parents, if need be, to make use of civil disobedience, if need be.

Government, Trade Union Commission Meeting Held
AU0609173791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1543 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/9/1991—The Joint Commission of the Government and Unions held a sitting at Government's Headquarters, with the participation of Social Welfare State Minister Dan Mircea Popescu, head of the government side in the Commission, delegates of union confederations, representatives of ministries and central bodies, counselors and experts.

The Commission examined the measures for the protection of the jobless that could not find employment during the period covered by unemployment benefit. It was agreed that the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare sped up proposals for a three-month extension of benefit coverage, so that the draft could be submitted to the government by 11 September 1991.

Other topics were the stage reached in concluding the collective bargaining agreements, the steps made by the Ministry of Health for turning some of its units private, the basic criteria on which the new health legislation should be founded, labor security standards.

"Fratia" suspended its participation in the Commission, motivating that "the issues debated by the commission are treated insignificantly and in disagreement with the grave problems affecting the employees".

Confederations Condemn 'Fratia'

AU0709132391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1923 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/9/1991—The Union Confederations represented at the today's sitting of the Government-Union Joint Committee released a communique bringing to public knowledge "the obstructive, anarchic and opportunist position of 'Fratia' representatives".

The communique says that, although 'Fratia' had previously announced their withdrawal from the committee and had never notified their intention to join again, they threatened with retreating from negotiations, trying to deviate them, under the pretext of other topics being imposed, among which the management by government of former union national assets.

"We believe union members will be able to tell leaders actually concerned about social problems and for the employees' interests from those who, under the cover of union militantism, shielded by cheap demagoguery, specific for the very structures they claim to be fighting against, are trying to disrupt union movement and misappropriate it for political aims or for mean personal interests that have nothing to do with those they claim to represent", further writes the communique.

Signing the communique are the National Confederation of Free Unions of Romania, the Confederation of Free

Non-Aligned Unions "Cosin", the "Consenerg" Confederation, the Confederation of Farm and Food Industry workers, "Metal" and "Construct" Confederations.

Incidents Reported at AFDP Rally in Bucharest

AU0609205591 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio
Network in Romanian 1900 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Text] On 6 September, a rally organized by the Association of Former Political Detainees of Romania (AFDP) began in Bucharest University Square at around 1630.

As Mrs. Ileana Gruita, secretary of Bucharest Municipality, told us the rally was not authorized because the president of the Steering Committee of the Association, Mr. Constantin Titu Dumitrescu, refused to give authorities information required by law regarding the duration of the rally, the route that the march that will follow, and preventative measures that organizers plan to take to prevent acts of disorder that might occur.

Anti-communist, anti-government, and anti-presidential slogans were chanted by the participants in the rally. The president of the Association of Former Political Detainees, Mr. Constantin Titu Dumitrescu, announced the names of all organizations that participated in the meeting: the Transtar Confederation, the Timis Confederation, the Hercules Confederation, 15 November Association, the Bucharest University Student League, the League of Theological Students, the Free Trade Union of Romanian Television, the 21 Decembr Organization, the Timisoara Society, CADA [Council of Action for Democratization of the Army], and the Timis County Christian-Democratic Union.

The University Square was occupied, and when the order-keeping forces intervened to clear the sidewalk, some incidents occurred.

The rally was opened by Constantin Titu Dumitrescu. Among other speakers Mr. Daniel Popescu, president of the Confederation of Student Leagues of Romania; Mr. Cicerone Ioan Nitoiu, representing the National Peasant (Christian Democratic) Party; Mr. Dragos Nicolescu, on behalf of Physicians' Trade Union; Reserve Lieutenant Colonel Silviu Popescu, CADA representative; Mr. Traian Andrei and Mrs. Delia Buzeanu, on behalf of the Free Trade Union of the Romanian Television, and Mr. Nicu Stancescu, on behalf of the Democratic Union Party addressed the rally.

At around 1830, the University Square rally concluded and the demonstrators started off toward Victory Palace.

When they reached the Government Headquarters, the demonstrators started chanting anti-government slogans. A delegation led by Mr. Constantin Titu Dumitrescu expressed the wish to talk to the prime minister and hand him a message. When the duty officer said that the prime minister was not in the building, the delegation refused to hand over the message.

The final stop on the demonstrators' route was the Romanian Television building, where, in front of the building, for one hour [word indistinct] they protested against the leadership of the television and demanded that it resign.

At around 2100, Mr. Constantin Titu Dumitrescu thanked the participants for attending the rally of the Association of Former Political Detainees and asked them to withdraw peacefully.

Here is a communique sent to the Radio by the president of the League for the Defense of Human Rights, Mr. Nicolae Stefanescu Draganesti. We quote: Please be so kind and broadcast the following: On 6 September at 1640 local time, I personally witnessed an incident in University Square where four policeman attacked a young man who was in a group with three other young people. They were carrying the Romanian flag and were shouting: Down with communism. All four [word indistinct] started to hit him. People interfered and booing they chased away the policemen from the University Square. I protest against the brutality of the police, concludes this communique signed by Mr. Nicolae Stefanescu Draganesti, president of the League for the Defense of Human Rights.

Asked on the phone about certain incidents in University Square, Lieutenant Colonel Popa, at the Bucharest Police Command, told us the following: We have a video cassette that shows a clip in which a group of about 1,000 people rushed at the 30-40 policeman who were standing along the pavement to guard traffic. The policemen who were attacked still bear the marks where they were hit. They withdrew from the people because, had they responded, they would have been simply lynched.

We have authentic documents and will put them at the disposal of the mass media.

Police Deny Brutality Charge

AU0709184991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1700 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 7/9/1991—The Press Office of Bucharest's Police Department sent a release to "ROMPRES" saying the rally and march organized on 6 September by the Association of ex-Political Prisoners [AFDP] did not observe the law. The organizers did not inform the Bucharest's Mayor Council and the police about the number of participants, the exact time space the rally was to be held, the measures of order taken by the organizers, who, in fact, did not take into consideration that the University Square is not one of the places where rallies can be held.

Nevertheless, 34 policemen and 15 conscripts of the gendarmerie delimited the place of the rally. They were ignored by the protesters, who occupied the University Square, blocked the traffic, and attacked the policemen, injuring two of them. The policemen did not respond to the provocation, on the contrary, they walked out of the

University Square. The police also protected the marchers, who were going to the headquarters of the government and the Romanian Television. A number of people forced entrance to these institutions and incited to violence. The police did not respond, this time either.

Taking all these into account, reads the release, we are surprised at the stands of Nicolae Stefanescu Draganesti, the president of the League for the Protection of Human Rights, expressed in the communique read on the radio Saturday, 6 September, and on the report of the "FRANCE PRESSE" agency, speaking of the policemen's brutal behaviour, which is not truthful to facts.

Democratic Labor Party Protests PSM Takeover

AU0709135991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0812 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 7/9/1991—A communique from the Democratic Labour Party sent to the national news agency "ROMPRES" shows that "as early as November last year" the party "firmly protested a high-handed attempt by the communist group led by Ilie Verdet, the so-called Socialist Party of Labour [PSM], at ripping off its identity."

The communique further shows: "The Democratic Labour Party expresses its satisfaction at and support to the stance taken by a number of political groups in favour of inquiries into the legality of the creation of extremist parties, no matter their colour, all while observing the principles of the state of law and with the people who are guilty for the emergence and operation of such groups being held responsible."

Mercenaries Allegedly Fighting in SFRY

AU0609135091 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG
in Hungarian 4 Sep 91 p 1

[Unattributed report: "According to INFRAC-TORUL: Romanian Mercenaries in Yugoslavia"]

[Text] According to the Romanian weekly INFRAC-TORUL's [LAW-BREAKER] information, Romanian mercenaries are taking part in the Yugoslav civil war. According to the paper, these are Romanian citizens who have ended up on the Serbian or Croatian side for the weekly pay of 1,000 German marks. The recruitment is carried out by Romanians, the equipment and the training is free of charge, but the mercenaries are sent to the most dangerous locations. According to the unofficial sources quoted by INFRAC-TORUL, 200 Romanian mercenaries have already fallen in the Yugoslav civil war.

Dijmarescu on Cooperation Prospects With Israel

AU0709140391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0824 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 7/9/1991—Referring to the accord on the mutual guarantee of investment, which

was signed in Israel during President Ion Iliescu's visit there (over September 2-5), the Romanian minister of the economy and finances, Eugen Dijmarescu, said that, essentially, that agreement was meant to encourage potential investors in Israel. Israel is a country with which Romania has maintained relations throughout the troublesome period in the Middle East. Many Romanian enterprises have had links with companies in that country, naturally, in a limited way. There are possibilities now for a larger number of Romanian enterprises to become a presence in Israel on the basis of the new agreement in such areas as construction, where Romania boasts skilled labour and the necessary equipment. Projects have already been devised with the Israeli side in irrigation and telecommunications, for instance. Furthermore, the fact should be considered that Israel boasts a high-tech aviation industry, including repairs and the manufacture of aircraft parts, for courier planes, which are needed in Romania, too. We try to develop a programme for a number of planes in the Romanian and Israeli fleet and in the world fleet in general, Eugen Dijmarescu said and added: The accord, therefore, is not only a document intended to encourage or guarantee mutual investment; it focuses on other clear targets as well. The Israeli finance minister and I have agreed to perfect a revolving credit mechanism—from Israel to Romania—for Israeli commodities to be taken over by our country.

I think that on the basis of the agreements to be concluded we could, from a technical point of view, achieve a volume of exchanges rising from roughly 30 million dollars annually to more than 100 million dollars in the immediately following period and with the session of the Joint Romanian-Israeli Commission in the offing (the session is due late this year). This would be a first step. The next step is to dimension this revolving credit line, that is to stand at 50-100 million dollars, which might double the volume of exchanges anticipated for 1992 in 1993. We also looked into possibilities of creating a Joint Romanian-Israeli Bank, formed of strong Israeli banks and strong Romanian banks, to finance wider-scope operations besides the bilateral ones.

Polish Study on Transylvania Criticized

*AU0809141991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1330 GMT 8 Sep 91*

[“Diplomatic Activities: A Communiqué From the Foreign Ministry on a Polish Study”—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 8/9/1991—Romania's Foreign Ministry sent a communiqué to the national news agency “ROMPRES” which shows:

The ambassador of the Polish Republic in Bucharest, Mr. Zygmunt Komorowski, was invited to the space directorate of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania where he was informed of the Romanian side's surprise at the publication in the Polish review “SENS” of assessments and ideas contained in a study worked

out by the Polish Foreign Ministry which envisages the integration into the “Trilateral” group, including the Polish Republic, the Hungarian Republic and the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, of only one geographic region of Romania, namely Transylvania.

The Polish ambassador was asked to explain the meaning of that study. It was pointed out that in all official contacts between representatives of Romania and of Poland emphasis had been placed on the need to develop cooperation between the two countries and not between zones and regions within them. The ambassador was also informed that the Romanian Foreign Ministry wondered whether that meant a change in Poland's stance and in its commitment to co-operation among the countries participating in the CSCE process.

Taking account of the fact that recently Poland became a participant in the Pentagonal Group, which in that way became hexagonal, the Polish Foreign Ministry was expected to set forth an active stance supporting the participation of Romania as a whole and as subject of international law in such projects of regional cooperation. Dissemination of such theses, whereby cooperation is recommended between some states and regions of other states poses questions in connection with their possible effect on the principle of territorial integrity of states and may seriously prejudice the generous ideas envisaging the creation of a pan-European system of security and cooperation.

The Civic Alliance [AC] and the Civic Alliance Party [PAC], a communiqué on the same Polish study shows, consider it their duty to express amazement at and protest over such plans even if for the time being they bear the mark of utopia. Moving the pen on the map of a country—even if that pen belongs to a mere designer and even if the design boasts the best of intentions—is an imprudent gesture. It may remind the Romanians of older projects of zoning and economic integration, which were made without their consent. In a Europe with so many neuralgic spots owing to the growth of older ethnic suspicion and chauvinistic tension, it is an inopportune gesture whose undesirable, hazardous effects may compromise the every idea of a European Community which we all share.

Romania is indivisible and it will enter Europe as a whole with all its natural provinces, the communiqué the Civic Alliance and the Civic Alliance Party sent to “ROMPRES” reads in conclusion.

Foreign Ministry's Melescanu on Iliescu Message

*AU0609212291 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio
Network in Romanian 1923 GMT 6 Sep 91*

[Statement by Teodor Melescanu, state secretary at the Foreign Ministry, in Bucharest on 6 September—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Mr. State Secretary, we broadcast less than 24 hours ago a communiqué on President Ion

Iliescu's answer to Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall's letter. What is the major message included in this response message.

[Melescanu] I believe that the major element of the response sent by the president to the prime minister of Hungary is an extremely positive element, that is, the Romanian president's belief that under the conditions of profound political change that characterize not only evolutions in the two countries—Romania and Hungary—but in all of Europe in general, the Romanian president most sincerely believes that an open and constructive approach to all the aspects of bilateral relations between the two countries, in accordance with the spirit and the letter of the Helsinki Final Act and of the Paris Charter, are indeed elements capable of offering the basis necessary to fulfill the wish expressed by the two sides—that is, expressed by Romania—to achieve resolute steps on the road to substantial development of relations between the two sides. This wish, as far as the Romanian side is concerned, is approached in the most sincere way.

A second element that I would like to note is the particular willingness to which Mr. Ion Iliescu refers, that is, Romania's particular willingness, to develop Romanian-Hungarian relations in all areas.

President Ion Iliescu refers to the fact that, in the near future, he is ready to hold talks both with Mr. Jozsef Antall, prime minister of the Hungarian Republic, and with Hungary's President Arpad Goncz, either here in Bucharest or in Budapest. He expresses most clearly the opinion that such meetings—without formalities or preconditions—may make a significant contribution—in the Romanian president's opinion—to the positive evolution of bilateral relations, which is so much needed, especially under current conditions.

And, finally, I would like to mention, in the spirit of the frankness that must characterize the dialogue between us and Hungary, that the Romanian president's message contains concrete proposals and, more than that, a hope that the appropriate Hungarian bodies and personally Prime Minister Jozsef Antall will attach the same attention that the Romanian side attaches to the undelayed start of negotiations with a view to establishing a new treaty of understanding, cooperation, and good neighborliness, a treaty for which the Romanian side sent a draft as early as May. I believe, and this is the opinion of the Foreign Ministry as well, that this treaty should ensure the settlement of all aspects of Romanian-Hungarian relations on new and modern bases, at a European level, in accordance with the fundamental norms of bilateral relations, which is an extremely important element and could be the true basis for developing—at the level of experts in the two countries—numerous initiatives advanced on various occasions.

These were in essence the few things I wanted to say. I would like to conclude by saying that what really impressed me personally in President Ion Iliescu's letter is his extremely positive attitude. I believe that Romania's president expresses on this occasion, too, a very broad consensus, that is, our interest and our particular wish to develop relations with Hungary.

I believe that, at the level of the Foreign Ministry, many things can also be achieved. First of all, I believe it is high time that the meetings between Mr. Adrian Nastase [Romanian foreign minister] and Mr. Geza Jeszenszki [Hungarian foreign minister] should move beyond the stage of occasional or accidental meetings and should become systematic, thus conferring an important framework for approaching issues of bilateral relations, which, in our opinion, would make a significant contribution—at the level of the two ministries—to the development of bilateral relations.

Federal**Foreign Journalists Warned About Safety**

LD0709102191 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0945 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, September 7 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government's Press Office on Saturday warned foreign correspondents in Yugoslavia not to leave on trips without previous guarantees for their safety.

As explained in a statement today, the warning was made because the organs in charge of information cannot assist foreign journalists in their carrying out professional duties under the present circumstances.

225 Registered AIDS Cases Reported

LD0709095891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1044 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Sep (TANJUG)—Belgrade still holds the infamous record for the number of registered AIDS cases. According to the latest information, 114 AIDS cases are reported in Belgrade out of 225 cases registered in the country. So far, 60 people have died of AIDS in Belgrade. [passage indistinct] In central Serbia, 130 AIDS cases have been registered so far, in Vojvodina 15 and in Kosovo and Metohija four.

Record Crop Yields, 3-Digit Inflation Forecast

LD0709103791 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0707 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, September 7 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia expects a record yield of the main agricultural crops this autumn and three-digit inflation, it was said in Belgrade on Friday.

According to initial estimates by statistics experts, this year's yield of wheat will be 6.6 million tons, or three percent more than last year, while the corn yield will be even 63 percent bigger, or 11 million tons.

The sugarbeet crop is expected to yield 6.7 million tons, or 12 percent more than last year, sunflower around 519,000 tons, 24 percent more, and soybean around 180,000 tons, 15 percent more.

In the first eight months this year, prices went up 75.2 percent. In the corresponding period last year, inflation stood at 80.9 percent.

Deputy Federal Secretary for Trade Branko Maricic warned that price hikes were yet to come, so that a three-digit annual inflation could be expected in Yugoslavia.

Yugoslav exports in the first eight months this year were smaller by six percent and imports by 8.4 percent. The value of exports was 11.338 billion dollars and imports 11.938 billion dollars.

Two Abducted Polish Journalists Released

LD0809153291 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network
in Polish 1400 GMT 8 Sep 91

[Text] The Polish journalists abducted in Croatia have been released. The Polish ambassador in Belgrade reported that editors Kowalczyk and Maciejewski from LODZKI DZIENNIK, abducted by the Serbian side in the town of Vrginmost about 70 kilometres from Zagreb, have been released. They were taken to Banja Luka where they spent the night in the Bosnia Hotel. They are fit and well. The Polish Embassy consul in Belgrade went to pick them up by car and ought to get back to Belgrade today. The goodwill and vigorous action of the Yugoslavian Ministry of Foreign Affairs ought to be emphasized, which contributed to the release of both the Polish reporters.

Reportage on EC Hague Peace Conference**Opening Declaration**

LD0709104491 London PRESS ASSOCIATION
in English 1054 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] The full declaration from the opening ceremony of the Yugoslav peace conference states:

"We, the representatives of the European Community and its member states and of Yugoslavia and its republics, participating in the opening session of the conference on Yugoslavia, have assembled in the Peace Palace at The Hague on 7 September 1991.

"Our common aim is to bring peace to all in Yugoslavia and to find lasting solutions which do justice to their legitimate concerns and aspirations. To this end we have decided also to establish an Arbitration Commission in the framework of the conference.

"Today's opening session marks the beginning of the negotiations on the future of Yugoslavia and its peoples, the outcome of which must take into account the interests of all who live there.

"We pledge to seek a peaceful settlement based on all the principles and commitments agreed upon in the CSCE process.

"We pledge to seek a peaceful settlement based on all the principles and commitments agreed upon in the CSCE process.

"We are determined never to recognise changes of any borders which have not been brought about by peaceful means and by agreement.

"We reiterate our commitment undertaken in the Charter of Paris for a new Europe to build, consolidate and strengthen democracy as the only system of government for us all.

"We solemnly declare our will to do everything in our power to enable the conference on Yugoslavia to proceed

in a peaceful environment for which the ceasefire observed in all its elements immediately is essential, thus contributing to its successful outcome."

Mesic Addresses Conference

LD0709163891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0823 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Embargoed by TANJUG until further notice]

[Text] The Hague, 7 Sep (TANJUG)—President of the Presidency Stjepan Mesic today addressed a peace conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague by telling its participants the following: (We release his address in its entirety, let us draw your attention once again to our Embargo.)

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Let me convey my regards on behalf of the SFRY Presidency to this distinguished assembly, convened by the EC's noble aspirations to contribute together with representatives of the federal authorities of our country and the leaders of the republics, to a cessation of the hostilities and armed conflicts which have already claimed numerous casualties, and brought about a great deal of destruction, and to the restoration of a stable peace in Yugoslavia.

Under conditions of peace it is possible to build the Yugoslav community's future, while honoring human rights, freedoms, and national equality. All this can be done in close cooperation with European peoples and states whose common family also embraces our country and our peoples.

I want to convey my particular gratitude to Lord Carrington who has kindly agreed to preside over this conference, which we expect to introduce firm hopes and guarantees that peace and stability will return to Yugoslav lands, something that is in the best interest of Yugoslavia's nations, as well as of Europe as a whole.

Bearing in mind Yugoslavia's long-standing friendly relations and cooperation with the EC, in particular its hitherto constructive engagement in, and contribution to, resolving the Yugoslav crisis, I want also to say that the SFRY Presidency regards the Community's latest efforts, including its convening of this meeting, too, with a great deal of understanding and respect.

I want to stress on this occasion, too, that our realizations are in concert in that the consequences of the hostilities and clashes are being inflicted on large numbers of people, particularly in the Republic of Croatia, and that a continuation of such misfortunes would seriously affect Europe's peace and stability. All this implies a need to devise and consolidate ways of resolving the situation, which at the moment is dividing the peoples of Yugoslavia, and to discourage and preempt new outbreaks of violence and bloodshed by way of our jointly investing efforts, on the part of all relevant

factors in the country and with the help of the EC, in paving a way for democratic negotiations on the future of Yugoslavia.

Having said this, and while bearing in mind the painful scars of suffering, the enormous damage inflicted by the fighting so far, as well as the deeply disconcerting fact that they have continued over the past few days, even after the clear-cut decisions and agreements on a ceasefire, I maintain that we also ought to acquaint this distinguished assembly with our clear belief that by no means can a solution to the Yugoslav crisis be found through war. It is only feasible by peaceful means, by eliminating the policy of force and fait accompli, while proceeding from the unambiguous standpoint that external and internal borders cannot be changed by use of force.

Of course, we are obliged to make it clear on this occasion, too, that the political and economic crisis in Yugoslavia stems from deeper causes, and that it did not break out suddenly in a short period of time. True, we were ourselves seeking solutions and proposing adequate programs as we were aware that a radical transformation of society was necessary, as well as the establishment of a free market, and full respect for human rights and freedoms. The forces which started boosting their advance by promoting the policy of nationalism, chauvinism, hatred, and severing economic links, which then resulted in armed conflicts, have rendered the implementation of these plans and programs more difficult or even totally impossible. In this way the crisis is being exacerbated. For the same reasons the financial operations with relevant international institutions and other countries have been reduced or completely suspended. This has made the overall situation even more complicated. The overall social situation has become extremely difficult.

Surely, with hindsight it would be possible to assess and explain all this objectively, including both its causes and pretexts, as well as the consequences and responsibilities. But now the most important thing is to break this negative chain, to stop the violence, and to protect all people, regardless of where they live in Yugoslavia, and to establish the principles and fundamental relations of the future configuration of the Yugoslav community by respecting all the legitimate interests and aspirations of the people and citizens. This responsible task should start as soon as possible and result in democratic and responsible solutions, while bearing in mind the principles included in the final Helsinki document and the Paris Charter on a New Europe, particularly those (principles) referring to human rights, including also the right to self-determination in line with the UN Charter and relevant norms of international law, including those referring to a state's territorial integrity.

The decisive role in this matter must be played by the people of Yugoslavia who are the only people that can decide on their own future. In this context all the EC's help is, of course, welcome, as well as all its sincere

efforts to encourage solutions inspired by the European standards and civilizational achievements that give us incentive and guidance in these complex and responsible endeavors. All the more so given the fact that the distrust of one another entrenched among the republican authorities has also reached our people, and this is precisely why EC help is indispensable.

I believe there is no need on this occasion to list all the moves, measures, acts, declarations, and agreements made and adopted by the EC representatives—either independently or in agreement with the Yugoslav authorities and the leaderships of its republics—since the end of June in their justified desire to prevent the violence, and to help solve the current problems and misunderstandings, and formulate future relations in a community of the Yugoslav peoples in a peaceful and principled way, in the spirit of tolerance and respect for freedom, equality, and mutual interests.

Unfortunately, even after a number of decisions by the SFRY Presidency and the EC's clear stands, after the signing of the cease-fire agreement and the memorandum of agreement on extending the observers' activities in Yugoslavia, we are still witnessing the fact that in a number of places in Croatia, the armed clashes and provocations are continuing. Regardless of conflicting reports on the pretexts and consequences of these clashes, the fact that the obligations assumed have not been honored, that there are new casualties and further destruction, is deeply disconcerting. Struck by this knowledge, we examined the latest situation and I addressed the public on behalf of the SFRY Presidency. I called on all the warring sides and individuals to immediately and fully comply with the provisions of the agreement regarding the cease-fire. We particularly pointed out our obligation to secure the conditions for the international observer mission in order that it may carry out its tasks and functions successfully. We are all—the responsible organs of the republics and the federation most of all—therefore obliged to contribute to the peace and contentment. Everyone is obliged to demonstrate a maximum political will and responsibility in order to find a peaceful and democratic way out of the crisis situation. We understand that The Hague Declaration on Yugoslavia of 3 September this year, the efforts of the CSCE, the work and results of this conference, and the competent stands and suggestions of the arbitration commission serve this goal.

We support the wise decision by the CSCE Crisis Committee that arms should not be supplied to any warring party.

The SFRY Presidency expresses its full resolve to carry out all its obligations. The peace and an effective control over its implementation is the first and decisive step toward the implementation of the ambitious goals to which we aspire.

I also want to convince you that we maintain that there should be no delay in the efforts and work to seek

long-term solutions to the crisis which is exerting such overwhelming pressure on us. We have agreed that in formulating these solutions the following principles must be taken into account:

- First, (the principle) of observing every nation's right to self-determination, including the right to secession and association;
- Second, (the principle) of observing the democratically expressed will of every Yugoslav nation and republic to achieve their own status in keeping with their own specific and realistic interests;
- Third, the principle of equality, which represents the equality of all options, the absence of imposing one's will on another, and the use of force;
- Fourth, the principle of legality, which implies that political agreement be legally sanctioned and reached as a result of a legal procedure.

A political agreement is being prepared on Yugoslavia's future on the basis of these principles. The agreement envisages that the transformation of the Yugoslav community take the form of a state organization which will suit the political will of the people and their legitimate national interests. Every solution must be just and rational, universally acceptable, reached by agreement, and in a democratic way.

Not without justification, and convinced in your understanding, I would like to point out and give support to the stand in the latest declaration on Yugoslavia, stating that the community and its member countries hope the normalization of the situation will ensure that financial protocols become effective as soon as possible, thus contributing to the country's economic recovery. In this way another important step will be made toward the stabilization of our economy, based on sound market principles, which would also have a beneficial effect on the recovery of general political circumstances and the safety of citizens, and which would boost our development.

Mister President,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

We are fully aware of our own responsibilities and duties before our nations and citizens, before Europe, and the world, to invest urgent and concrete efforts for the benefit of peace, normal living conditions, economic growth, and democratic denouement of the Yugoslav crisis, by reaching an agreement on the future of its (Yugoslav) nations and republics and their mutual relations. At the same time, we support with respect all the efforts which the EC, its member countries, and the CSCE institutions are exerting in order to help and consolidate the complete cessation of war horrors, and (ensure) civilized communications between our country, its nations, and republics, with the neighbors and other states on our continent, of which we form an inseparable part. In this respect, we look forward to the outcome of this conference with sincere hopes, aware that we are all

being scrutinized before a wide audience, especially before new generations which want to live in peace and freedom, (benefiting from) open communications and cooperation, in dignity, free from fear and violence of any kind. I therefore wish the conference full success and I extend you my cordial gratitude."

Milosevic Speaks at Hague

AU0709183191 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Dragan Colovic, Milorad Denda report on the Conference on Peace in Yugoslavia which was held in The Hague on 7 September]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Denda] The speech by Serbia's President Slobodan Milosevic was awaited with great interest. Since the speakers appeared in alphabetical order, Milosevic was the last of the six republican presidents to speak. Speaking fluent English, he said:

[Begin Milosevic recording, in English fading into Serbo-Croatian translation read by announcer] The Yugoslav crisis, which was the reason for this conference, is a result of the unilateral secessionist policy first of Slovenia and then of Croatia, which has undermined Yugoslavia's legal constitutional setup. The policy of secession has opened the problem of borders, sovereignty, and human rights violations and has led to clashes and bloodshed.

Illegal arms imports and the creation of paramilitary formations, arming the members of the ruling party to establish a totalitarian chauvinist regime in Croatia directly threaten human rights, democratic development, and peace in Yugoslavia.

This policy has reached its culmination with the unilateral proclamation of Croatia's independence, an attempt by the Croatian authorities to abuse the Croatian people's right to self-determination, which no one disputes, at the expense of the same and equal right of the Serbian people. Apart from that, the Croatian authorities have begun perpetrating crude acts of discrimination against Serbian people by generally violating basic human rights and demonstrating their sovereignty and independence all the time by carrying out armed attacks against territories populated by the Serbs. A direct consequence of this is the number of more than 100,000 refugees from Croatia in Serbia while, at the same time, not a single Croat has fled from Serbia to Croatia because of ethnic discrimination.

Therefore, the Croatian authorities have forced the Serbian people into self-organization and defense from the danger of genocide, the genocide that another independent state of Croatia from the past committed against the Serbs during World War II.

Since the Serbs in the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina and the Serbian Autonomous Region of Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem are one of the sides in

armed conflicts in Croatia and—on the basis of documents that we signed in Belgrade—an equal participant in the cease-fire control, Milosevic said, I think that the participation of their legitimate representatives in the process that opened today is not only necessary, but also indispensable.

Serbia expects the peace conference to establish and affirm the principles according to which the crisis in Yugoslavia could be solved in a peaceful, democratic, and legal way. These principles would equally apply to all participants, which would represent a guarantee of their objectivity and justice, without which no permanent peace can be reached.

Yugoslavia as a legitimate state exists within the present state borders as the only internationally recognized factor. Yugoslavia's internal borders are administrative and have never represented state or ethnic borders. The acts of those federal units that have unilaterally proclaimed state sovereignty within internal administrative borders and established the primacy of the republican regulations over the federal regulations cannot be recognized. By imposing the idea of the inviolability of the internal borders one conceals the unlawful attempt to unilaterally change the external borders of Yugoslavia by simply renaming internal administrative borders into external state borders, something that directly threatens the territorial integrity of the country. This is why any international recognition of the republics that have begun secession would in fact mean recognizing unlawful, unilateral, and forceful acts that endanger other people's basic national rights and peace.

According to its definition in the valid Yugoslav Constitution, Yugoslavia is a state community of voluntarily united people and their republics that appeared in its federal form on the basis of the people's right to self-determination. The right to self-determination must equally apply to each one of the six Yugoslav peoples. It also includes the people's right to opt in a democratic way for its own independent state outside Yugoslavia but, Slobodan Milosevic pointed out, it also implies the right to remain in Yugoslavia together with other Yugoslav peoples. The right of a people to leave Yugoslavia cannot be stronger than the right of a people to remain in Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia is still their present state.

Since the valid Yugoslav Constitution does not include provisions on the way to exercise the right to self-determination, one should then—through the consent of all republics—establish unified rules according to which each one of the Yugoslav peoples could use this right in an equal way.

If the use of the people's right to self-determination is regulated by general norms, then the possibility of making decisions that violate the equal rights of other peoples is excluded. There lies the difference between the peoples' right to self-determination and unilateral acts. What is happening in Yugoslavia now is an attempt to use arms to take something that does not belong to the

protagonists of the unilateral secessionist acts, that is, to take away something that belongs to another people. This is the cause of armed conflicts in Croatia, that is, this is the motive for the state terror perpetrated by the Croatian authorities against the Serbian population.

The right to self-determination means that nobody can be made remain to live in Yugoslavia against his will, but also that nobody can be taken out of Yugoslavia against his will. If everybody accepts this, then no reason will exist for armed conflicts in Yugoslavia.

Change of borders is inevitable only in the case of secession from Yugoslavia. It is not posed as a question for those peoples and republics who are staying in Yugoslavia.

The decision on the directions and roads of solving the crisis in Yugoslavia must be Yugoslavia's own decision, that is the sovereign right of the Yugoslav peoples who are the only ones who can decide about their own fate. In our opinion, Milosevic said, the EC's role is to help find the solution of the crisis by unbiased and competent mediation, and not by imposing a solution. The condition for the proposed solution to be permanent and legitimate is that all peoples of Yugoslavia agree to it, that is, that the interests of all peoples of Yugoslavia are equally protected.

At the end of his speech, President Milosevic said the following: Mr. Chairman, I want to inform you that as an affirmation of these principles, a meeting of the highest representatives of the republics of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, and Montenegro was held in Belgrade recently at which an initiative was established for a peaceful and democratic solution of the Yugoslav crisis and for adopting a new constitution of Yugoslavia as a joint state of equal republics, peoples, and citizens.

I want to assure you that the majority of Yugoslav citizens supports the orientation in favor of Yugoslavia as a joint state of equal peoples and republics.

Although it was presented as an initiative of the top representatives of the three republics that have so far not adopted acts on secession from Yugoslavia, the Belgrade initiative is explicitly open to all Yugoslav peoples and republics. I would like to assure the participants of this conference that the Republic of Serbia, which has been on the side of peace, freedom, and democracy throughout its history, will express its full support for the work of the arbitration commission and the peace conference in the sense of the aforementioned stands. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Tudjman, Mesic 'Satisfied'

LD0709193391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1753 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] Zagreb, 7 Sep (TANJUG)—"We were satisfied with the general atmosphere during the conference, as far as the EC representatives were concerned," said Croatia President Franjo Tudjman, upon his return

from The Hague. "The same principles for resolving the Yugoslav crisis that are fully acceptable for us, that is, cease-fire, not agreeing to forceful altering of borders, recognition of equal rights for everyone in Yugoslavia, were put forward again," Tudjman said.

Speaking at a press conference in Banski Dvori, Tudjman stressed that Yugoslav representatives largely reiterated their well-known stands at The Hague peace conference and drew special attention to the reports of the presidents of Macedonia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kiro Gligorov and Alija Izetbegovic. Gligorov, in his words, put forward his stand in most specific terms—that Macedonia is in favor of sovereignty and independence—which will be confirmed by the referendum. President Izetbegovic also said Bosnia favors sovereignty and that it is open to discussion on what kind of a community would be possible, even on the subject of the sovereignty of this community [as received] or republics, the Croatian president explained.

He also pointed out that President Izetbegovic of Bosnia-Herzegovina denied the statements of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic on the participation of representatives of Bosnia-Herzegovina at the meeting between Serbia, Montenegro, and Bosnia-Herzegovina in Belgrade, during which the orientation for preserving Yugoslavia was confirmed.

Tudjman also expressed satisfaction with the meetings with the foreign ministers of Italy, France, Germany, and Britain as well as with Lord Carrington during his stay in The Hague, and he also expressed thanks for the support of the Croats who demonstrated in the streets of the Netherlands capital together with Albanians.

"The conference means a political success for Croatia and a step forward toward recognition," Dr Tudjman concluded. He added that the further success of the conference will depend on "whether those who are carrying out the aggression—Serbs and the Yugoslav Army—will draw some conclusions from this and whether they cease their aggression."

At the end of the press conference, Dr. Tudjman repeated his reply to questions from journalists that he received in The Hague. "Croatia cannot agree to any kind of territorial concessions in the negotiations," Tudjman said and stressed "there can be neither a compromise nor talks about Croatia conceding even a little piece of its territory."

SFRY Presidency President Stipe Mesic repeated the assessments of the Croatian president. He assessed that this is probably the beginning of a process in which Europe will play a more active role in securing peace in this area. "I did not expect much more than was achieved," Mesic added.

He also stated that, as president of the Presidency, he will be issuing an order to the military leadership that the Army withdraw to barracks. "If they do not do this, I will state clearly that the military leadership is acting outside

of an institutional framework, and this means that a military putsch has been carried out," Mesic stressed. He denied reports that he would resign by saying "and hand over the position to Branko Kostic."

When this Thursday has passed, we shall know what the EC can do and what Lord Carrington can do, Mesic said. At that time we will know which steps Croatia and other subjects must take to find a way out of this crisis, he concluded.

Serbian Presidents' Accusations

LD0709115191 London PRESS ASSOCIATION
in English 1109 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] The presidents of two warring republics hurled accusation and counter-accusation at each other today, turning the European Community Yugoslav peace conference into a public slanging match.

Croatia's President accused Serbia of waging a "dirty, undeclared war" in defiance of international law, while the Serbian leader attacked Croatia for disrupting Yugoslavia's "order and stability". EC foreign ministers—aware that the impassioned dispute reflects the uphill struggle in winning peace for Yugoslavia—witnessed the exchanges in grim silence in the conference room in the "Peace Palace" in The Hague. The accusations flew shortly after the conference issued a declaration pledging to observe a cease-fire and negotiate for a peaceful settlement to the country's crisis.

The declaration, issued by the foreign ministers of the 12 EC states and the leaders of Yugoslavia's Federal Government and its individual republics, came amid reports of continued fighting between Serbian guerrillas and Croatian security forces.

Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, the first Yugoslav republic leader to address the opening session of the conference, blamed Serbia for thousands of Croatian victims of the war. Serbian attempts to annex Croatia defied all understanding, he said. He said he hoped the talks would take effective steps to halt Serbian aggression. Croatia was fighting for its freedom and integrity, he said, adding: "The international community will not permit the citizens of Croatia to be exposed to destruction and suffering."

Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, speaking in English, replied by accusing Croatia of disrupting the entire country with its unilateral declaration of independence. He claimed that 100,000 refugees had fled Croatia for Serbia as a direct result of Croatia's policy—while not one Croatian had gone in the opposite direction. "The Croats want to take by force what does not belong to them," he declared. Federal Yugoslav President Stipe Mesic—a Croatian—left the conference room within minutes of the start of the Serbian leader's address, returning only as Mr Milosevic was finishing.

The bitter speeches by the leaders of the two warring republics were among addresses given by all the Yugoslav delegates attending the opening ceremony of the EC-sponsored conference in The Hague.

Earlier Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek urged an end to the fighting.

Milosevic: EC Cannot Impose Peace

LD0709142591 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1333 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] The Hague, September 7 (TANJUG)—The president of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic, said in The Hague today that Serbia expects the peace conference to "establish and recognize principles on the basis of which the crisis in Yugoslavia could be settled in a peaceful, democratic and legal way."

According to Milosevic, the first and most important objectives are to eliminate armed clashes and ensure conditions for the establishment of a just and lasting peace. He said that the Yugoslav crisis was the result of a "unilateral, secessionist policy, first of Slovenia and then of Croatia, which disturbed the legal constitutional order of Yugoslavia," adding that the "policy of secession has opened up the problem of borders, sovereignty and imperiled human rights and resulted in clashes and bloodshed."

He said that the Croatian authorities "forced the Serbian people to become self-organized and defend themselves from the danger of another genocide" and urged that "serbs in the Serbian Autonomous Region (SAR) Krajina and SAR Slavonija, Baranja and western Srem" be equal participants in the peace procedure which began today.

On the right of peoples to self-determination, Milosevic said that "the right of a people to leave Yugoslavia cannot be stronger than the right of a people to remain in Yugoslavia, which is still their present state".

"We believe that the role of the EC (European Community) is to, unbiasedly and though competent mediation, help find solutions to the crisis, not to impose a solution," Milosevic said.

Markovic Assesses Outcome

LD0709210991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1933 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] Zagreb, 7 Sep (TANJUG)—"It is difficult to say whether a move forward has been made at The Hague peace conference. All the disagreements that caused the conflicts we are now experiencing surfaced today," Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic said today upon his return from The Hague.

Replying to correspondents' questions in Zagreb's Pleso Airport, Markovic said that "evidently, what we all agreed upon is that we are not able to solve our crisis and all the problems that we are facing alone; therefore, we

need help from the European Community. What we also agreed upon is the fact that the EC help, for example the cooperation with the EC, must be even more intensive."

"We all unanimously agreed to accept Lord Carrington's chairmanship of the peace conference, and an agreement was also reached to appoint his assistants," Markovic said. He stressed that an important conclusion was adopted during a part of the session that was held behind closed doors. According to the conclusion, the Yugoslav minister of foreign affairs and ministers of foreign affairs of all our republics will meet Carrington and his associates on Thursday at a first session to define the program of the peace conference's work.

"That will be a long-lasting process," Markovic believes. He also spoke about problems in Yugoslavia, conflicts, and war destruction, hundreds of casualties and thousands of people who remain homeless, and more than 100,000 refugees, which is an impermissible tragedy, particularly in Europe today.

"All this compels us to search for a peaceful and democratic solution" the Yugoslav Prime Minister stressed. He believes that along these lines a process of negotiations is now being opened that must help to calm down passions and diminish conflicts. "We absolutely insist on the complete demobilization of all forces, the return of weapons and demilitarization" Markovic concluded, saying that today a serious step forward has been made.

Conference To Resume 12 Sep

LD0709205291 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1826 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] The Hague, Sept 7 (TANJUG)—Following today's official opening, the first plenary session of the peace conference on Yugoslavia will be held on Thursday, also in The Hague.

After consultations between the conference chairman, Lord Carrington, and all the signatories of the Belgrade Agreement on the ceasefire in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, it was agreed that from the Yugoslav side, the meeting be attended by the Yugoslav and republican foreign ministers, while the European Twelve will be represented at the level of deputy foreign ministers.

The meeting will discuss the forms and mechanisms of the further work of the conference.

The first meetings of working groups are expected to be held already early next week.

Tudjman Rejects Discussion of Croatia's Borders

LD0709171191 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1612 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] The Hague, September 7 (TANJUG)—The president of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, Franjo Tudjman, today said there 'can be no discussion about

Croatia's borders because when it (Croatia) became a part of Yugoslavia, its territory was bigger than today'.

This was Tudjman's reply to a question at a news conference in The Hague on whether Croatia would accept changes of its borders if it were so decided in negotiations at the conference on Yugoslavia.

Tudjman said that, according to the latest reports, there was fighting today, especially around Okucani, a town in western Slavonia, 120 km from Zagreb. He explained that this town was where 'Serbian extremists' are planning to break up Croatia.

Tudjman said that Serbs account for only 12 percent of Croatia's population, adding that they, like other minorities in the republic, have been offered all civil and ethnic rights, including local self-management.

Tudjman expressed hope that Croatia is recognized by Germany, and a number of other countries. International recognition of Croatia would stop those who are 'destroying villages and churches', and facilitate a peaceful settlement of the conflict, he pointed out.

On the work of the conference on Yugoslavia, Tudjman said that the E.C. was unanimous in its defence of democratic principles which will, as he put it, affect those who are leading the aggression against Croatia.

Those responsible for the aggression, today appeared against the overwhelming constructive atmosphere at the conference, Tudjman said.

Van den Broek: Final Goal To Settle Crisis

LD0709170591 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1543 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] The Hague, September 7 (TANJUG)—Peace conference on Yugoslavia should be deemed as only an introduction to the peace process, while the final goal is for the crisis in the country to be settled in a manner acceptable to all, Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek told a press conference in The Hague on Saturday. Holland currently holds the rotating presidency of the European Community.

Addressing newsmen after the plenary session, together with European Commission President Jacques Delors, and Lord Carrington, who presides the conference, Van den Broek said all the attending delegations have taken it on themselves to cooperate with the European Community. High resolve and much patience would be needed to find a solution, he said.

The Dutch foreign minister stated the conviction that the E.C. observers would soon be in a position to come to the crisis areas in Croatia. At the same time he recalled that the European Community has already decided on the three members of the arbitration commission and reminded that the Yugoslav side has let the European Community decide on the remaining two commission members.

No option could be ruled out in advance, nor force used to adopt it, he said. These were not yet talks, he noted, but only the opening of negotiation process.

He said the rights of minorities must by all means be included in the talks on settling the Yugoslav crisis.

Asked whether Slovenia and Croatia would be recognized as independent states for the duration of the conference, Van den Broek said the E.C. stand on this should be unanimous.

Jacques Delors noted that cooperation between Yugoslavia and its republics with the European Community depends on the course and outcome of the peace process. Negotiations in Yugoslavia would have a bearing also on the modalities of cooperation, he said.

Lord Carrington noted that it would be hard to find solutions acceptable to all. However, if there was good will, the way out, as he said, could be found. He added that he was not surprised by the differences evinced on Saturday between the Croatian President Tudjman and Serbian President Milosevic. Nevertheless, common points should be sought, he added.

Asked whether the conference would also be attended by Serbs in Croatia, as requested by the Serbian president, Lord Carrington stated that the conference participants would be the republics and the federal authorities.

Kucan Says Slovenia Seeks Full Independence

*LD0709143391 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1339 GMT 7 Sep 91*

[Text] The Hague, September 7 (TANJUG)—President of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia Milan Kucan on Saturday told the peace conference for Yugoslavia, currently held in The Hague, that this north-western Yugoslav republic was determined to establish full independence after the termination of the three-month moratorium concluded with the European Community on July 7.

Kucan said that the international recognition of Slovenia and Croatia, the "two republics whose populations have democratically expressed their will for independent statehood, would be a crucial contribution to the peaceful settlement of relationships among the new Yugoslav republics, based on new foundations."

Slovenia and Croatian unilaterally proclaimed their sovereignty and independence on June 25.

Kucan said that "Slovenia's independence does not exclude a possibility of making agreements on cooperation with other republics," adding that an independent and sovereign Slovenia, in cooperation with others, was ready to contribute to a successful peace process in Yugoslavia. In search for such solutions, it is imperative to exclude the Yugoslav Army as a participant or even an

arbiter in the disputes," said Kucan. He urged "quick realization of economic ties of European countries with Yugoslav republics".

Assessing that Yugoslavia, "as a political unit, cannot be revived," Kucan concluded that it was necessary to set new foundations for "peaceful life and cooperation on the territory of the present state as well as throughout eastern Europe."

Netherlands Envoy Summarizes Mission

*LD0909111691 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0953 GMT 9 Sep 91*

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 9 (TANJUG)—The European Community (E.C.) president's special envoy, Dutch Ambassador Henri Wijnaendts told a news conference in Belgrade last night he had an impression that the "protagonists of the conflict in Yugoslavia are changing their view" on the presence of foreign observers in the country's crisis regions.

Wijnaendts said he got the impression after talks with the presidents of the Yugoslav Republics Serbia and Croatia, Slobodan Milosevic and Franjo Tudjman, and representatives of the military leadership, and after his visit to the crisis hotbeds.

"They now want observers and believe that the presence of an impartial side in the conflict zones is necessary," Wijnaendts said, adding that the "situation was impossible to pacify" without the presence of foreign missions.

Wijnaendts underscored that the Yugoslav People's Army was "cooperating excellently with the mission."

He said the main purpose of his mission was to "operationalize" a ceasefire between the warring sides in Croatia.

"We realized that we must not be too ambitious and have therefore decided to start from the base and to try to achieve a ceasefire region by region," Wijnaendts said.

Commenting on some reports about the failure of his mission, Wijnaendts said the great success of his mission was that a ceasefire agreement had been signed by all three parties in eastern Slavonija—Croats, Serbs and the Army.

He also said five E.C. observers arrived in Osijek, Slavonija's capital, on Sunday afternoon.

As for the refusal by Milan Babic, the prime minister of the so-called Serbian autonomous region of Krajina (which is not recognized by the Croatian authorities), to sign the agreement previously signed by the representatives of Croatia and the Army, Wijnaendts said Babic had approved the wording of the agreement but failed to sign it because of "formal reasons."

"Talks with Babic have not been completed yet," Wijnaendts said, adding that the mission maintained "permanent contact" with him.

Hague Conference Informed About Helicopter Incident
LD0709162891 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1421 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] The Hague, September 7 (TANJUG)—The participants in the conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague were today informed about the protest which German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher lodged with the Yugoslav ambassador in Bonn, on the incident when shots were fired at a helicopter of the observer mission in Croatia yesterday.

There were no comments about the incident at the conference. E.C. ministerial council president, Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek heard the version of the Croatian Government, according to which the Yugoslav Army opened fire on the helicopter, and was later informed about a statement issued by the Yugoslav Defence Ministry which denied the accusations.

It is unofficially learned that the general belief is that the attack was probably not carried out by the Yugoslav People's Army.

Van den Broek discussed the incident today with Yugoslav Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar.

Ministry Issues Statement

LD0709163591 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1432 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, September 7 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Defence Ministry information office today described as 'pure fabrication' allegations by some media in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia that Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) units last night opened fire at a helicopter carrying the special envoy of the E.C. Ministerial Council, Ambassador Henri Wijnaendts, and members of the E.C. monitor mission.

'There are no JNA units in the region in which the E.C. mission helicopter was flying, and the nearest JNA units are stationed more than 15 km from the place where the fire on the helicopter was opened', the statement said.

On the German Government's protest lodged to Yugoslav ambassador in Bonn, the Federal Defence Ministry said that 'organs of the Federal Republic of Germany continue with their absolutely unfounded accusations of the Yugoslav People's Army, not showing the slightest degree of patience or readiness to confront the objective state of affairs and the truth about certain events'.

EC Representative Visits Split, Knin

LD0709202891 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1636 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] Split, Sept 7 (TANJUG)—Special envoy of the European Community (E.C.) Ambassador Henri Wijnaendts, after his arrival in Split today, assessed that his visit to Osijek yesterday, the center of the Croatian

region of Slavonija, was successful since "all signed a joint document" on a ceasefire in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia.

Wijnaendts specified that this document accepts European observers and envisages exchange of prisoners. An agreement has been reached "that in case of an incident, instead of returning fire, negotiations will come first."

The joint document, apart from Wijnaendts, was signed by representatives of the Croatian authorities, the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) and the Serbian population in Slavonija.

Upon his arrival in the central Dalmatian city of Split, Wijnaendts said that the aim of his visit is the realization of the agreement on a ceasefire which was signed in Belgrade on September 1.

It is absolutely necessary for the violence to stop. Wijnaendts said this is the reason for his visit here, where he will talk with all parties involved in the conflict and try to repeat the model which was achieved in Slavonija.

After his morning visit to Split, Wijnaendts was taken to Knin by an Army helicopter.

Kosovo Albanians Seek Participation in Peace Process

LD0709021391 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1643 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Text] Pristina, September 6 (TANJUG)—A representative of ethnic Albanians in Yugoslavia should also take part in a peace conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague, as president of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo Ibrahim Rugova told a news conference today.

The Democratic Alliance of Kosovo is an opposition party rallying ethnic Albanians in the Yugoslav province of Kosovo.

Rugova said that unless their representative participates in the conference, ethnic Albanians in Kosovo "would not accept its or any decisions on Yugoslavia's future organization."

Rugova sent the demand to European Community (EC) President Hans Van den Broek, on behalf of the coordinating committee of political parties of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo.

Opposition parties of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo maintain that Yugoslav state Presidency member from Kosovo Sejdo Bajramovic is an illegitimate representative of the province which is a part of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia.

Krajina Refuses To Sign Cease-Fire Protocol

LD0709212191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1902 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Excerpt] Knin, 7 Sep (TANJUG)—Ambassador Henry Wijnaendts, envoy to Netherlands and Foreign Minister

Hans van den Broek today returned from Knin without the signature of the "Krajina Government" on the cease-fire protocol. This is the same document which was signed yesterday by representatives of the Serbian nation in Slavonija, Western Srem and Baranja.

At the end of the talks, which lasted two and one-half hours, Ambassador Wijnaendts left the Knin Municipal Assembly without comment, although upon his arrival he had expressed hope and the wish that yet another step be taken toward peace.

At a news conference, in answer to a question of why he had not signed the protocol, Dr. Milan Babic stated that he was unable to accept a definition which speaks of the Serbian population in northern and central Dalmatia. The ambassador insisted on this, Babic stressed, and he added that it is Krajina and the Republic of Croatia which are in conflict, not the people. Babic stressed that Krajina is respecting agreements on the cease-fire accord, and that its forces would never be the first to open fire, but that they would defend themselves if attacked. [passage omitted]

Markovic on Responsibility for Croatia Fighting

LD0709065191 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0429 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, September 7 (TANJUG)—"It is not simple to answer the question of who bears responsibility for war in Croatia," since "to be found on all sides are hawks willing to solve the fate and relations in the country by war," Ante Markovic, Yugoslavia's federal premier, has said.

Pointing out that there are several people responsible for the civil war being waged in Croatia, Markovic said Friday evening in an interview with the BBC correspondent in Belgrade that, "to be found in the foreground are pretensions to change frontiers which, we have ever been agreed, cannot be changed either by force or by one-sided acts."

"Besides, this is the problem of the ethnic Serbs' unsettled relations in Croatia, and they can be solved by recognizing the right to autonomy, which, in fact, should have been present from the very outset," Markovic said in an interview given on the eve of today's peace conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague.

The Yugoslav People's Army has got to be reformed and transformed "adequately to changes throughout Yugoslavia at the moment when it, struggling for its reforms and democratization, is opening its frontiers and wishes to be integrated, also accepting theories, principles and everything else dominating today in Western Europe and in the world," Markovic assessed.

Serbs in Bosnia Ask Milosevic To Represent Them

LD0709124991 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1126 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] Sarajevo, September 7 (TANJUG)—Members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency Nikola Koljevic and Biljana Plavsic requested on Saturday that the interests of the Serbian people in that Yugoslav republic be represented by President of the Republic of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic at the Yugoslavia conference currently held in The Hague.

In a letter to the conference, the two Serbian members on the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency said that the reason for this was that Bosnia-Herzegovina's President Alija Izetbegovic, a Moslem, "cannot represent the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina" at the conference.

Bosnia-Herzegovina is frequently referred to as a Yugoslavia in miniature because Serbs, Croats and Moslems live mixed in the republic.

The motive for addressing the conference is "different views on the republic's future and its position by the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) on the one hand and the Party of Democratic Action (SDA) and the Croatian Democratic Union in Bosnia-Herzegovina (HDZ) on the other," says the letter.

Bosnia-Herzegovina is ruled by a coalition of the SDS, SDA and HDZ, which rally the republic's Serb, Moslem and Croat population, respectively. The SDS urges the republic's remaining a part of Yugoslavia even if Slovenia and Croatia secede, while the SDA and HDZ advocate its sovereignty.

Koljevic and Plavsic recalled in the letter that they had requested to present personally the stands of Bosnia-Herzegovina's Serb population at The Hague conference. As they were not granted an opportunity, they ask that their interests be represented by the Serbian president.

Montenegro's Bulatovic Against Fait Accompli Policy

LD0709160591 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1404 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] The Hague, Sept 7 (TANJUG)—"The Republic of Montenegro upholds the principles, instruments and procedures contained in the documents of the European Community (E.C.) on settling the political crisis in Yugoslavia," Montenegrin Presidency President Momir Bulatovic said at the peace conference in The Hague today.

He underscored that Montenegro particularly supports "the firm determination of the community and its member states never to accept a policy of fait accompli." Bulatovic expressed the conviction that the E.C. in its relationship towards Yugoslavia "will build and preserve a joint appearance which assumes realistic perception of separate interests."

Bulatovic proposed that the peace conference also accept and affirm the principles which the Yugoslav State Presidency unanimously adopted on August 20 of this year.

'Montenegro views with regret that not enough attention is being devoted to the evidence offered by the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) with regard to the fact 'that its units are exposed to frequent armed attacks in the territory of the Republic of Croatia.' According to Bulatovic, the role of the JNA is 'now necessary to prevent ethnic and other clashes.'

Daily Says German Position 'Aggressive Blackmail'

LD0809211591 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1951 GMT 8 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 8 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade daily POLITIKA said on Sunday that the statements of German politicians, especially of late and especially on Yugoslavia, no doubt impose the conclusion that Germany's foreign policy following the country's unification has become expressly offensive, and in the case of the Yugoslav crisis, even took on the form of a policy of 'aggressive blackmail.'

In a military-political commentary entitled 'Where Is Bonn Marching To,' POLITIKA wonders whether a country which was the aggressor in two world wars and responsible for vast destruction in Yugoslavia can now competently judge the Yugoslav crisis and furthermore even announce sharp sanctions if the German diktat was not accepted.

Setting out the legal and constitutional provisions on Germany's military engagement and data on the German Armed Forces, POLITIKA warns that 'what foreign troops could experience in Yugoslavia was not demonstrated even by Beirut...'

In another text on the question of internal borders in Yugoslavia, POLITIKA notes that Germany's unrestrained interest insists on the proclamation of the present administrative borders in Yugoslavia as state borders.

Unified Germany has spread its umbrella over the future unified Europe, reviving in a very short period the old concepts of German supremacy in Europe and its domination in Europe's southeast, POLITIKA writes.

This was welcomed and embraced by secessionist movements and to it were attached projects for Yugoslavia's break-up, POLITIKA said.

Slovenia

Army Denies Use of New Monetary Supplies

LD0709042791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0945 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Excerpt] Ljubljana, 6 Sep (TANJUG)—The information service of the Ljubljana Corps Command has

denied claims made by some of the media in Slovenia that it is sending supplies of fresh money, printed in Belgrade, to this republic to finance the needs of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army [YPA]. The denial released by this service stresses that such claims, attributed to sources that include internal affairs services, are untrue and totally groundless.

In its cashflow the army faces the same problems as those facing all other sectors of society. Due to a lack of money the army started, as early as this April, paying personal income in two installments, at the beginning of the month and in the middle of the month. The Slovene public was informed about this. Personal income in the army is paid with a delay as in the rest of the economy. In addition to this, due to the overall situation, income has been reduced both for YPA employees and pensioners.

At the same time, the Ljubljana Corps Command stresses that the YPA's financial operations are carried out through the social accountancy service so they can be audited there. In Slovenia, YPA units are supplied with fresh money via the Zagreb social accountancy service. Due to disruptions in road and railway traffic, the money for the YPA units has been transported by helicopter on some occasions. [passage omitted]

President Kucan Comments on National Minorities

LD0709064591 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0246 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] Ljubljana, Rome [dateline as received], September 7 (TANJUG)—The peace conference on Yugoslavia to open in The Hague today will not be an attempt at reviving Yugoslavia and nor a search for who is to blame for its internal disputes, Milan Kucan, president of the Presidency of Slovenia, a republic in the northwest of Yugoslavia, evaluated here Friday.

"In no case, Slovenia's decisions on its substantiveness cannot be an item for discussion at the peace conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague," Kucan said in his talks Friday with representatives of the Italian and Hungarian ethnic minorities in Slovenia.

On June 25 this year, Slovenia proclaimed its independence and substantiveness. A three-month moratorium (cooling-off period) was put on the implementation of Slovenia's and Croatia's acts to that effect in the Brioni Declaration on a peaceful settlement for the crisis in Yugoslavia, reached through the EC mediation.

The participation of Yugoslavia's national minorities should be secured at the opening peace conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague, Kucan assessed.

For their part, representatives of the Italian ethnic minority said that they do not enjoy all rights ensuing from the Osimo agreement, demarcating frontiers between Italy and Yugoslavia, and regulating minority rights.

The representatives of ethnic Italians living in Yugoslavia demanded Friday the protection of their rights in Yugoslavia in Rome, too, from Italy's foreign minister, Gianni de Michelis.

The matters of their "adequate international protection" are to be represented bilaterally and a formula for representing them at the opening peace conference on Yugoslavia is to be studied, De Michelis told the Italian minority delegation, it was said.

"A special care will be taken for safeguarding the Italian minority unity in the Yugoslav republics of Slovenia and Croatia with the aim of realizing an equal treatment for them in the territories historically populated by Italians," De Michelis said.

Croatia

Arrest of Canadian Citizen Kikas Protested

LD0709020891 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1801 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Text] Zagreb, September 6 (TANJUG)—Foreign Minister of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia Zvonimir Separovic today sent a letter of protest to the military court in Belgrade against the arrest of Antun Kikas.

Kikas, a Canadian citizen of Croatian descent, has been detained on charges of being involved in an attempt to smuggle around [figure indistinct] tonnes of arms on board a Ugandan airplane which was forced to land at the Zagreb Airport on August 31.

Separovic categorically protested against "Kikas being illegally taken from the Republic of Croatia to another republic, as well as his detention in a prison of the military court in Belgrade."

Separovic demanded that the "customs, investigation and court proceedings be immediately returned to the competence of [words indistinct] of the Republic of Croatia."

YPA: Croatian Forces Mutilated Dead Soldier

LD0709173491 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1603 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 7 (TANJUG)—The Fifth Army District Command today accused 'individuals' in the armed formations of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia of mutilating a dead member of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) in Petrinja on September 2.

According to the Information Office of the Army District, which includes a large part of Croatia, Squad Leader Boza Bijelic was killed by a rifle grenade in an attack by Croatian policemen and national guardsmen on a garrison in Petrinja.

The Army, as reported, demanded that the local police hand in the body, however, this was not done.

The body was handed over to the Army only when the Zagreb Corps Command demanded the Croatian authorities to do so—three days later.

'During the identification of the body', the report states, several stabs and open wounds were established while the eyes of the deceased were gouged out.'

The report also sets out that while the body was lying in the city park, 'individuals' put a chetnik hat on the deceased squad leader and took photos of him in order to 'prove' that members of the Yugoslav Army are 'chetniks'.

A part of the filmed report, as set out, was shown in a program of Croatian television.

Chetniks were Serbian quisling formations during World War Two, whose name the Croatian authorities are now applying to the rebel Serbian population in their republic.

The Fifth Corps Command of the Yugoslav Army today also denied a Croatian Television report that eleven soldiers were killed near Zagreb's Pleso Airport while trying to escape from the barracks.

The Croatian Television report said that soldiers stumbled on to mine fields, while officers 'shot at those who were not killed by the mines.'

Denying the Croatian Television report, the Fifth Corps Command underscored that 'JNA officers have never shot or will ever shoot at their own soldiers.'

30 YPA Members Reported Arrested by Croat Guard

AU0709204291 Belgrade RTV Sat TV
in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] We have just received the following report:

This evening at 1900, on an overpass near Osijek, Croatian guardsmen attacked a column of motor vehicles of the Yugoslav People's Army that was transporting food and other equipment meant for the C practice ground where Army members are stationed.

Guardsmen opened fire on the column escorted by Croatian policemen. About 30 soldiers and officers were disarmed, arrested, and taken away, most probably to the Osijek police department.

In exchange for the arrested, the Croatian Ustasha forces demand that Army members be disarmed.

Croatian Forces Arrest Army General, 25 Soldiers

LD0709215291 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] Around 1500 today, members of the Croatian National Guard Corps and police stopped three armored personnel carriers which moved out of the barracks in Gospic without previous announcement. Since the officers refused to let the police members search the

carriers, members of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs arrested them. Twenty-five soldiers and Major General Krstevski, commander of the Yugoslav People's Army forces in Plitvice, were captured.

After interrogation, Maj. Gen. Krstevski was released with four soldiers following him. Other soldiers who did not want to return to their army units were released and went home, while some of them joined the Croatian National Guard Corps.

Grenades are still hitting Gospic. Fire was opened from an anti-aircraft gun from the barracks in Gospic this evening.

Warrant Issued for Arrest of Knin Army Commander

LD0709225991 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1733 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] Split, September 7 (TANJUG)—Public Prosecution Office in Sibenik, a city in Croatian Northern Dalmatia region, on Saturday issued a warrant for the arrest of Commander of the Yugoslav Army Knin Corps, Gen. Spiro Nikovic and Chief of Staff of the Knin Corps, Col. Ratko Mladic.

The prosecution office explained that 'legal and legitimate judicial organs of the Republic of Croatia were unable to perform their functions on the territory of the self-styled Serbian Autonomous Region (SAO) Krajina,' due to the presence of the Yugoslav Army.

SAO Krajina is made up of 13 municipalities, predominantly populated with Serbs. The Croatian authorities do not recognize its autonomy, while the Army is there as a 'barrier.'

Bebic Vows 'Offensive Actions' If Peace Fails

LD0809220291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1832 GMT 8 Sep 91

[Text] Zagreb, 8 Sep (TANJUG)—Croatian forces will "switch to the offensive" if the peace initiative fails, Croatian Defense Minister Luka Bebic stated to French journalists in Zagreb today.

As AFP reports, in his talks with two French journalists, Bebic did not conceal that he is pessimistic about the cessation of hostilities. "It is already obvious that the latest EC initiative has failed to get the Army back to the barracks and that the Army is even stronger today," he said.

The Croatian minister says that the Federal Army has now become "an instrument in the hands of the supporters of a Greater Serbia," and that by refusing to carry out the orders of the collective Presidency of the country "it has carried out a military coup." Bebic (said) that this is "an Army of occupation" operating in a foreign country and that Croatia has lost control over some parts of its territory because it is conducting "a defensive policy of peace."

"We greatly respect peace initiatives, especially when they come from the EC, but they are not achieving any results," Bebic said. "We thought that by our exclusively defensive actions we would demonstrate to the world our wish for peace, but how many dead are needed for this to be demonstrated? Hence, we shall launch offensive actions to get back our territory," the minister said.

Bebic assessed that in the military sphere the situation "is not dramatic," and he claimed that fighting is going on in about 20 percent of the territory, while about 11-12 percent of the territory is under Serbs' control. "We do not have sufficient weapons; while our adversary has aircraft and tanks. We vitally need anti-tank missiles. Europe should remove its blockade and obstacles to the procurement of arms," Bebic said.

The Croatian defense minister told the French journalists that there are 42,000 people in the Guard and the police, and that a further 12,000 reservists have not been mobilized because there are insufficient arms. They are commanded by 250 former officers of the Yugoslav Army. Bebic says the Yugoslav Army has about 130,000 personnel, and of these 7,000-8,000 are in barracks in Zagreb and its environs. He added that he does not know the number of members of the Serbian police, but about 100 of them have been taken prisoner. They are being treated, Bebic says, as "prisoners of war."

Bebic called on France, which "created Yugoslavia at the beginning of the century," to now help disband it. According to AFP, he assessed that Europe should "be reconstructed around France," and he stressed, in particular, that Croatia "does not wish to be liberated from Serbia only to fall under the tutelage of Germany or Austria."

Cease-Fire Accord Signed in Gospic 8 Sep

LD0809154591 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 8 Sep 91

[Text] Vladimir Juric reporting for Radio Croatia from Gospic:

The personal envoy of Hans van den Broek, Dutch Ambassador Henry Wijnaendts, was present at and acted as an intermediary in talks between General Andrija Raseta, representing the Yugoslav Army and Ante Karic, commander of all the Croatian units. In the Gospic [word indistinct] barracks, at exactly 1632 hours, they signed a cease-fire accord. After this, the Croatian forces lifted their blockade of the barracks, and the high-ranking guest, in the company of the signatories, set off for a tour of the town and the battlefield.

Gospic Shelled Despite Cease-Fire

LD0809205291 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 8 Sep 91

[Vladimir Juric report from Gospic]

[Excerpt] With the departure of the helicopter carrying General Andrija Raseta and Van den Broek's special envoy, Dutch Ambassador Henry Wijnaendts, Gospic has returned to wartime. About 10 120-mm shells landed on the town; and on individual parts of the front adjacent to the town, firing from automatic weapons and (?grenades) can be heard. [passage omitted including indistinct portion]

Shelling Continues in Gospic; Houses Destroyed

LD0909113291 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Text] Shells are continuing to fall on Gospic. Between last night and 1200 today, more than 100 shells landed. From positions on the outskirts of Gospic, the sound of gunfire and antitank missiles continues to be heard. There are no injuries among members of the Croatian defense forces. Serbian outlaws are continuing to shell and destroy houses in Gospic. Almost every day, several houses in town catch fire.

'Fierce Fighting' Continues in Slavonija

LD0909133291 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1140 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Text] Zagreb, Pakrac, Sept 9 (TANJUG)—There was fierce fighting this morning between Croatian National Guard and police units and Serbian territorial defence forces in the village of Kusunje, five kilometers from Pakrac in Slavonija.

TANJUG's reporter said Serbian territorial defence forces have been holding several hundred Croatian guardsmen and policemen encircled in Kusunje since ten o'clock yesterday.

There was fierce fighting in the village on Sunday as well.

The police department in Bjelovar said there were many dead and wounded who could not be reached.

Eight wounded policemen and two civilians were brought to the medical center in Pakrac.

According to Serbian sources, reinforcements arrived for the Croatian forces yesterday afternoon.

A Croatian Interior Ministry armoured vehicle was destroyed in the battlefield in Kusunje last night.

Shots were also fired at Pakrac on Sunday and the building of a new medical center in the city was hit.

Pakrac is desolately empty, there is no water and food supplies are running short.

The city is controlled by the Croatian guard and police while nearby villages are held by Serbian territorial defence forces.

The night was mostly calm in Osijek and its surroundings, with sporadic shooting and explosions.

The heaviest shooting is still between the Serbian village Bijelo Brdo and the village of Sarvas, where powerful Croatian guard and police forces are located. The villages are around 15 kilometers from Osijek.

A five-member European Community peace mission arrived in Tenje, near Osijek, this morning. The results of the talks are still unknown.

Tenje is divided into two parts. Armed soldiers are holding the old part and Croatian guardsmen and policemen are stationed in the new part. Fighting between the two parts of the village has continued since early July.

There was also shooting in the Vukovar area but no major clashes were reported. The city is still encircled by armed Serbs from nearby villages.

Croatian radio did not report major clashes on the territory of the republic this morning.

There have been no reports on battles around Kostajnica either, where, according to Belgrade radio reports, Serbian territorial defence forces have surrounded Croatian forces.

Serbian sources claim that the Croats are trapped.

Serbia

Retired General Says Croatia Has Stinger Missiles

AU0909111091 Pristina TVP Sat TV
in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 8 Sep 91

[Interview with Radosav Sekulic, director of the Federal Customs Administration, by Dragan Jokic; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Jokic] Respected viewers, several federal institutions recently received a letter signed by a retired general in which he says, among other things, the following:

To the Director of the Federal Customs Administration:
Respected Comrade Director,

Ten days ago I was informed that the Croatian War Ministry purchased through an Austrian firm the Stinger surface-to-surface and surface-to-air missiles. We are talking about a large number of them, several thousand of them. The effectiveness and range of these missiles are great. The capital city of Yugoslavia could be hit from Ilok, Tovarnik, or Adasevci.

These missiles could destroy hundreds of our tanks, which will be returning from Slovenia on railroad cars, or our tanks on roads and barracks in Croatia. Many of our aircraft would be brought down from our blue sky with these missiles fired from silos, church towers, and skyscrapers.

We went to find the director of the Federal Customs Administration to ask him how true this was.

[Sekulic] One could hardly say that this is not true. Missiles are indeed being fired. These English-produced Stinger missiles are very famous. They were very popular in the Middle East, quite expensive, about \$10,000 apiece.

We have information about the bulk of arms shipments, even about the smallest shipments—small arms and rockets that can be carried in bags or pockets.

[Jokic] So, you can trace one rocket but not a thousand Stinger missiles.

[Sekulic] I have already stated once before that 90 percent, or even over 90 percent, of all kinds of arms that enter our country are more or less uncovered.

[Jokic] It appears that the enormous shipment of arms in Bar has been forgotten. What happened to it? Did anybody claim it?

[Sekulic] Somebody forgot it. The first claims [dispozicija] should have been made by 15 August, but nothing happened.

[Jokic] Nobody has been in touch?

[Sekulic] Nobody has been in touch. Everything is in a safe place, well secured, well protected.

[Jokic] No member of the [Croatian] Ministry of Internal Affairs can come as [words indistinct] Hrvatska Dubava.

[Sekulic] No, no. This is stored in a modern way and secured, and there is no risk whatsoever.

[Jokic] What amount of weapons are we talking about?

[Sekulic] About 20,000 tons. It is difficult to say exactly how much. As you know, there were stories that these arms were meant for an army of 100,000 men.

[Jokic] If no one comes to claim this shipment, what will happen to it?

[Sekulic] According to the customs regulations, the shipment is stored, and if it is not claimed within a certain period of time, we apply the customs law on the breach of regulations. It will probably be confiscated, auctioned, or something else. We expect somebody to claim it.

Yugoslav Army Reports on Helicopter Attack

LD0709064191 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0235 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, September 7 (TANJUG)—The 1st Military Region of Yugoslavia's Armed Forces announced early this morning that yesterday's attack on a helicopter with members of the EC monitor mission on board was perpetrated by Croatia's armed formations, assessing that "another charge calculated against the army" is involved.

As early as Thursday the general public came to know that the Army is in possession of information that

Croatia's armed formations in the east of Slavonia had been ordered to shoot down the military helicopter scheduled to transfer a representative of the 1st Military Region to the town of Osijek for talks with a special emissary of the European Community (EC), Dutch Ambassador to Paris Henry Wijnaendis. Croatia's HINA News Agency was planned to immediately after inform the general public that such an act had been done by the Yugoslav Army's units, it was added.

Everything was done as provided in the scenario, this morning's announcement [words indistinct] that fire was opened instead of at the helicopter with the Army representative on board, at the helicopter returning Ambassador Wijnaendis and Arends, a mission's German member, from Slavonia.

This was done by Yugoslav Army units, HINA newscast. At the same time, the Croatian authorities informed Germany's foreign minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, of this incident.

It was on the grounds of such information that the Bonn government lodged a strong protest with the Yugoslav Government Friday evening.

General Mobilization in Bosanska Krajina

AU0709154091 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network
in Serbo-Croatian 0300 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] At its urgent meeting held last night, the Assembly of the Bosanska Krajina Communes Association adopted the decision on the general mobilization on its territory. The mobilization is the result of the announcement that the Croat armed forces started an organized attack against the civilian Serb population around Okucani and Stara Gradiska.

We have immediately sent this decision to the General Staff of the Yugoslav People's Army and to all communes of our association, Miro Mladjenovic, minister for information of the Bosanska Krajina Communes Association, said after midnight. This decision is irrevocable and involves a commitment by all Bosanska Krajina forces to defend Yugoslavia and the Serbian people in Croatia, who are threatened by the genocidal policy of the Ustasha leadership. Miro Mladjenovic, minister for information of the Bosanska Krajina Communes Association, said last night. According to him, a general mobilization in this region is under way.

Krajina Rejects Autonomy Within Croatia

LD0809130591 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1155 GMT 8 Sep 91

[Text] Knin, September 8 (TANJUG)—The government of the so-called Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia on Sunday said that it would not accept the status of an autonomous region within Croatia as a possible way for settling the current crisis in Yugoslavia.

In today's "Platform for Settling the Yugoslav Crisis," formulated in cooperation with the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) which rallies Croatia's minority Serb population, the Krajina government recalls that the "Serbian people in Krajina have already declared themselves in favour of a strong community with Serbia."

The basic principles incorporated in the platform are the obliteration of the existing inter-republican borders, seen by the Serbs in Croatia as administrative, and the "establishing of new internal divisions of Yugoslavia's territories."

Three options are being mentioned in this context. The first is Krajina's unification into a separate "federal unit" with the Bosnian Krajina, a part of the neighbouring Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina which is also populated largely by Serbs.

Another solution provides for Krajina's joining the Republic of Serbia, and the last for its remaining a "compact territorial unit of a future Yugoslav federation with a special status, without being a part of any federal unit."

The SDS and the Krajina government recall in the platform the results of the May referendum on separation and secession from the Republic of Croatia and the will of the Serbian people in the region to live with those who wish to stay in Yugoslavia.

The Serb population last year proclaimed the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina in parts of Croatia where Serbs are a majority population. The Croatian authorities recognize neither Krajina nor its organs.

At the referendum, Krajina's population voted for remaining part of a community with the peoples who want to preserve Yugoslavia in case Croatia secedes.

Croatians Fire at Osijek Army Barracks; No Casualties
*LD0809210191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2003 GMT 8 Sep 91*

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Sep (TANJUG)—Despite the presence in Osijek today of the cease-fire monitoring commission, forces of the Internal Affairs Ministry and the National Guard Corps of the Republic of Croatia alternately launched mortar attacks on the Milan Stanivukovic barracks and the C training ground at 1810 this evening. A total of 17 mortar shells were fired at the barracks and 24 at the training ground.

A YPA [Yugoslav People's Army] representative was told—in response to his warning that the Internal Affairs Ministry and National Guard Corps forces had been attacking the YPA units and to his proposal that the commission should verify this on the spot—that the C training ground would be visited tomorrow.

The YPA units did not return fire. There are no wounded among its members, the 1st Army District information office has announced.

Authorities Confirm Detention of Krajina's Martić
*LD0909121991 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1123 GMT 9 Sep 91*

[Text] Bosanska Krupa, Sept 9 (TANJUG)—Local authorities in Bosanska Krupa, in the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, today confirmed that police late last night detained Milan Martić, commander of the so-called Serbian Autonomous Region Krajina from the neighboring Republic of Croatia.

It was said that police from Bosanska Krupa and activists of the Party of Democratic Action (SDA), a party that rallies Moslems which is the biggest national group in Bosnia-Herzegovina, stopped a vehicle with Milan Martić and three military officers in it at the nearby town of Otoci late last night.

When they established the identity of Milan Martić, the police took the passengers to the police station in Otoka, where they are now under strict security of the organs of the republican interior ministry.

The presence of many civilians has been noted in front of the police station in Otoka so that the ministry has taken measures to ensure safety for Martić and the other two persons who were detained, TANJUG correspondents were told.

Milenko Zelenbaba, chief of police in Knin, the headquarters of Krajina, said Martić was not arrested. According to Zelenbaba, Martić was stopped, together with two officers who were driving him in an official vehicle after his car broke down, by a group of persons who, having recognized Milan Martić, acted quite threateningly.

Zelenbaba says that police intervened and took Martić and the two officers to the police station under guard. The police station, as Zelenbaba said, "is surrounded by a group of citizens armed with sniper rifles who are preventing all access to the police station."

The Bosnia-Herzegovina Interior Ministry has been informed about the entire matter and it will take over this case, as confirmed by both Zelenbaba and the authorities in Bosanska Krupa.

Marković Announces 'Reconstruction' Plan
*LD0909133791 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1301 GMT 9 Sep 91*

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 9 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Marković has decided to launch, in cooperation with the Federal Assembly and all the Yugoslav republics, a procedure for a government reconstruction. More reliable information about this will be available in the next few days, as Prime Minister Marković told journalists today.

Asked which ministries and ministers are in question, Marković said that no one so far has been singled out on

the agenda and that the aim of the reconstruction is to ensure a government cabinet which corresponds to relations within the country.

Defense Minister Says Army Wants End to Crisis

*LD0909134391 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1249 GMT 9 Sep 91*

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 9 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav armed forces 'care very much' that an agreement on settling the Yugoslav crisis and the country's future organization be reached 'as soon as possible,' as Yugoslav Defence Minister General of the Army Veljko Kadijevic said today.

In a message to soldiers on the occasion of Navy Day, September 10, Kadijevic said the armed forces were a 'target of those who want to break up Yugoslavia,' but he said, they would not permit themselves to be dragged into 'all-out inter-nationality conflicts and large-scale fratricidal war.'

Gen. Kadijevic called on soldiers to remain 'firm in their commitment to peace and life together, understanding and tolerance in inter-nationality relations,' regardless of the continued attacks by even those for whom the army had built waterworks, roads and other links with the world.'

'The fact that some individuals have left our ranks, should not make you waver,' Gen. Kadijevic said, and added that only 'waverers, nationalists and careerists have left, while courageous and honest individuals with high moral standards have remained.'

Macedonia

Army Says No Exercises During Referendum

*LD0709220191 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1945 GMT 7 Sep 91*

[Text] Skopje, Sept 7 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav People's Army today denied rumours that military exercises of reservists will be organized in Macedonia during the referendum on Sunday on the Yugoslav republic's independence.

The command of the Third Army District, which also covers Macedonia, once again informs the public that no exercises will be held during the referendum, the Army said in its statement.

The command has in this way confirmed the public statement made by the Army at a news conference on August 27.

Gligorov on Republic's Independence

*LD0609194891 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1832 GMT 6 Sep 91*

[Text] Skopje, September 6 (TANJUG)—Macedonia will be a sovereign and independent state unless an accord on Yugoslavia's survival is reached, as president of the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia said today.

Prior to his departure for The Hague to attend a peace conference on Yugoslavia tomorrow, Gligorov told a news conference that the Yugoslav representatives must find a solution and reach mutual understanding in The Hague.

"The peace conference was scheduled for earlier than we expected, probably because a ceasefire has not been established in the crisis regions of Croatia," Gligorov said.

"This means that Europe is concerned and wants to undertake an effective and a quick action, bearing in mind time and human lives," Gligorov added.

He said Macedonia wanted to be a civic, democratic and parliamentary state in a new alliance of Yugoslav states.

As an independent and sovereign state, Macedonia will build up the policy of good-neighbourliness and establish economic cooperation with those who recognize Macedonians as a nation, as Gligorov said. "Macedonia will not sever relations or close its borders with Greece and Bulgaria," Gligorov added.

Greece and Bulgaria do not recognize the Macedonian nation. Greek Foreign Minister Andonis Samaras said in Belgrade recently his country would not recognize Macedonia as a sovereign state if Yugoslavia disintegrates.

Gligorov said neighbouring Albania was "ready to recognize Macedonia's sovereignty."

In an interview to the Skopje daily VECER, Gligorov said he hoped the neighbours' attitude towards Macedonia would change after they are assured that it (Macedonia) has no territorial claims.

Gligorov said the fact that Macedonia "will participate in The Hague peace conference as an independent subject is the biggest guarantee of Macedonia's recognition soon."

Reportage on Macedonian Independence Referendum

Polls Open

*LD0809075591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0732 GMT 8 Sep 91*

[Summary] Skopje, 8 Sep (TANJUG)—All polling stations in Macedonia opened at 0700 this morning, and over 1,500,000 citizens of this republic will be voting for

or against an independent and sovereign Macedonia, with the right to join a future federation of sovereign Yugoslav states.

Widespread Support

LD0809091391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0843 GMT 8 Sep 91

[Summary] Skopje, 8 Sep (TANJUG)—According to an opinion poll organized by NOVA MAKEDONIJA and the Puls weekly center for research, in which 600 citizens took part, 91.93 percent of citizens in Macedonia will turn out at the referendum, 84.54 percent will vote for independence, 4.54 percent will vote against independence, and 10.76 percent will abstain. The poll results also show that members of all parties, including the Albanian parties, favor independence, leaving only members and supporters of the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia "categorically" against.

Albanians Boycott Referendum

AU0809192991 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network
in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 8 Sep 91

[Boris Djordjioski report from the "Sunday at Ten" program]

[Excerpts] The date 8 September is accorded historic importance in Macedonia today, because the citizens of this republic are voting on the independence of their republic. By voting in favor of independence they would secure international legitimacy for Macedonia to exist as a state in this part of the Balkans. It is claimed that this referendum will remove from the agenda once and for all the assertions that the Macedonian nation was an imposed [oktrojisan] nation and that it is a result of the Cominform decisions made under war conditions, without people being asked which (state) they wanted to be part of. The ASNOM [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Macedonia] decisions should now be confirmed. So should the wish to live in peace and unity with other Yugoslav peoples.

Almost no one here doubts in the positive outcome of the referendum, because the people here are not crazy enough to vote against themselves, newspaper commentators point out. [passage omitted]

Arguments by some Macedonian generals, Yugoslav-oriented parties, and the Macedonians from Serbia, that Macedonia is heading for a disaster, and that it will lose everything that it had accomplished thanks to Yugoslav society were met here with very negative reaction. It is thought that the aim of this kind of sanctimonious care is in fact an aspiration to impose vassal relations on Macedonia again. The answer to this is that Macedonia is capable of developing further, within Yugoslavia, but also as an independent state.

One should also bear in mind the foreign factor, above all the stand of the neighboring countries on Macedonia's independence. Bulgaria will recognize a Macedonian state, but not the Macedonian nation. Greece, on the other hand, will not recognize Macedonia, and will in fact demand that other European countries support its view. There are some positive indications regarding recognition in Albania, with which Macedonia has been establishing more and more specific economic ties. [passage omitted]

More direct economic, political, and cultural cooperation and relations are being established with Albania, but regarding Albanians in Macedonia the referendum has encountered problems. True, the Islamic religious community appealed to its followers yesterday to vote in the referendum and fulfill their citizens' duty. The leaderships of Albanian parties in Macedonia, the Party for Democratic Prosperity and the National Democratic Party, have not responded to this appeal. Their condition was that the Macedonian Constitution, which is still being drafted, grant the status of a nation to the Albanian nationality. They also have some objections to human rights and freedoms. Only then would they vote. This sounded very much like an ultimatum.

However, those who know the situation in Macedonia well think that the reason for the boycott is something completely different. By voting for a sovereign and an independent Macedonia, Albanians would become loyal citizens of that sovereign state and would be committed to living in that state. In this way they are depriving themselves of the trump card, international legitimacy, to possibly secede from Macedonia and accede to a great Albania. [passage omitted]

Polls Close

LD0809194391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1852 GMT 8 Sep 91

[Excerpt] Skopje, 8 Sep (TANJUG)—In Macedonia, by 1900 hours, 2,700 polling stations had closed. The citizens of this republic were deciding to say "yes" or "no" to whether they would prefer a sovereign and independent Macedonia that has a right to join a union of Yugoslavia's sovereign states.

According to a statement given by the president of the republic Electoral Commission for the Referendum, Nikola Koneski, shortly after the end of the voting, the referendum was carried out successfully, since 61 percent of those listed on the electoral registers had voted by 1400. In some municipalities in Macedonia, over 75 percent of the citizens heeded the call for the referendum, while the turnout in the municipalities of Western Macedonia, populated by Albanians, was considerably lower.

Koneski stressed that the referendum voting passed in a peaceful and often festive atmosphere, with no excesses whatsoever. He also said there were tip-offs that attempts were going to be made at provoking excesses at some polling stations, but the municipal commissions denied these rumors. [passage omitted]